A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

WHEN WILL THE BUTCHER OF LYONS BE BROUGHT TO TRIAL?

NEW TIMES

WOMEN IN THE WORLD TODAY

PROPERTY OF THE LIBRARY
MAR 20 1987
University of North Carolina at Greensboro

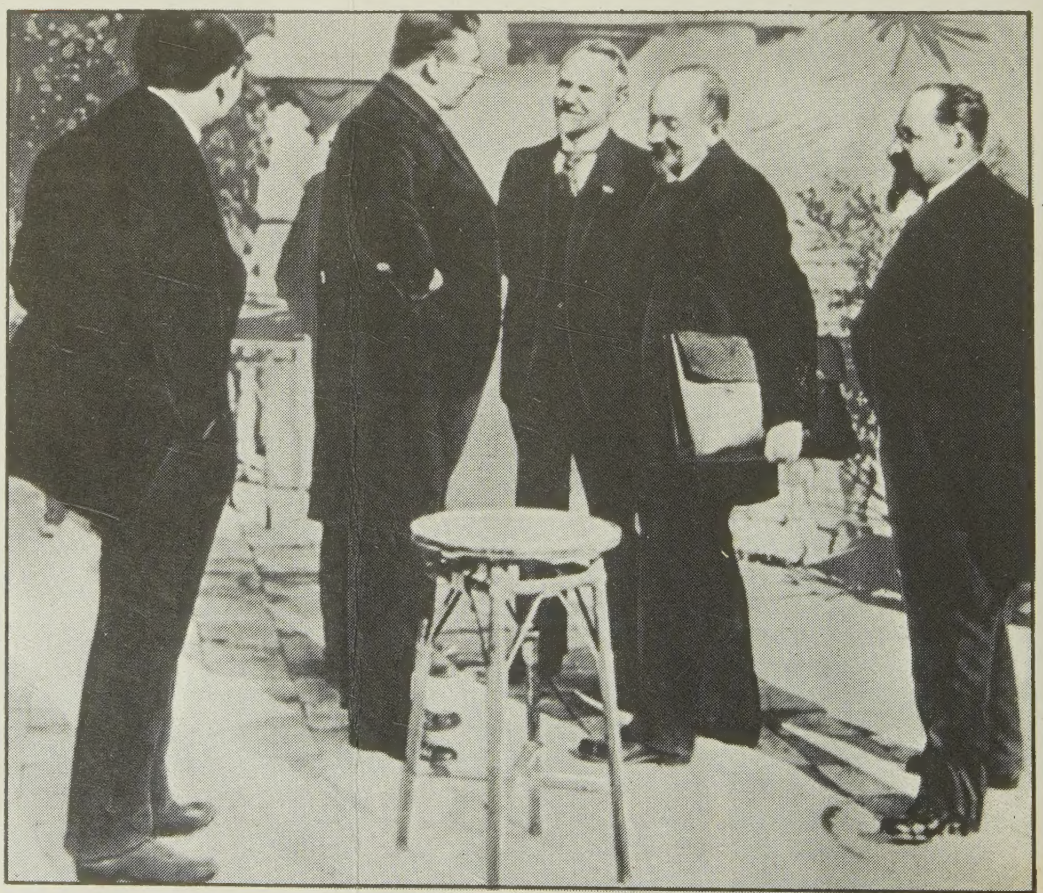
MARCH

INTERROBOT: INITIAL STEPS • THE FLICK AFFAIR

1917–1987

April 10, 1922, is a landmark date in European and world politics. An international conference at which the Russian Federation was represented for the first time had opened in the ancient San Giorgio palace in the Italian city of Genoa. On April 10 Georgi Chicherin, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs and head of the Soviet delegation, delivered a truly historic speech: on behalf of the Soviet people he put forward a programme, elaborated under the leadership of Lenin, for the establishment of a new type of economic relations in Europe, for ties based on equality between countries with different social systems—in a word, what we today call peaceful coexistence. No less sensational was Chicherin's call for a general reduction of armaments. With bated breath the conference hall listened to the brilliant speech delivered by the People's Commissar first in French and then in English.

Before long there was another sensation: in the small town of Rapallo near Genoa a treaty between the R.S.F.S.R. and Germany was signed. On the photo below taken on that memorable day in Rapallo Chicherin (second from right) is talking to the German Chancellor, Joseph Wirth. Lenin was to write later that the Rapallo Treaty was the first document to reflect the principle of the "true equality of two property systems"—socialist and capitalist. Lenin believed that only on this basis were relations between our country and the countries of the West possible. We still adhere to that view.



A SOVIET WEEKLY
OF WORLD AFFAIRS

NEW TIMES

10

March 16,
1987
Founded 1943

CONTENTS

2
STATEMENT
BY THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF
THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE
MIKHAIL GORBACHEV

3
18th Congress of Soviet Trade Unions
ON BEHALF OF THE WORKINGMAN

4
Solidarity with Charles Hyder
A CITIZEN OF THE OTHER AMERICA

5
A VOICE FROM SOWETO
Winnie Mandela Interviewed

6
Opinion Poll
Editors' questions answered by
Fernando Monteiro do Amaral (Portugal)
Gianfranco Rastrelli (Italy)
Christoph Niess (West Berlin)

7
Panorama

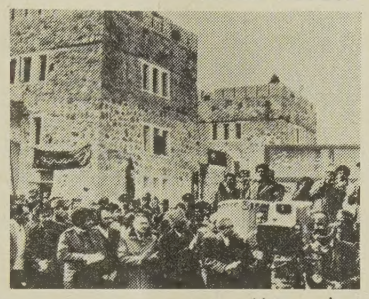
8
Observer's View
Sergei Golyakov.
BRIDGES AREN'T BURNED

10
Exclusive for New Times
John Galbraith.
ALTERNATIVE TO MILITARISM

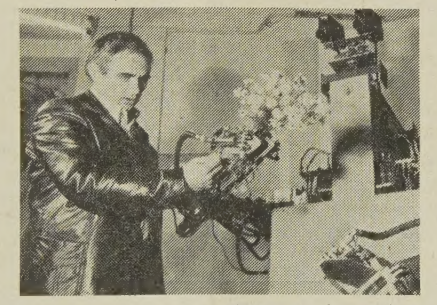
11
Afghanistan
Ada Petrova. NATIONAL
RECONCILIATION: FRIENDS AND FOES

12
F.R.G.
Alexander Tolpegin. CORRUPTION:
ALL IN THE DAY'S WORK

Winnie Mandela



New robot



Amnesty for Kabul prison inmates

15
In Retrospect

16
Medicine
Dmitry Pogorzhelsky.
BREAKTHROUGH OR FORTUITY!

17
MEDALS OF THE U.S.S.R. ACADEMY
OF SCIENCES

18
Soviet Union
Vilen Alavidze:
WHAT THE POLLS HAVE REVEALED

24
CMEA
INTERROBOT: INITIAL STEPS

26
Cinema
Vladimir Zhitomirsky.
A BET IN THE JUNGLE

28
Yuri Tavrovsky, Vladimir Tsvetov.
THE U.S.S.R.—JAPAN TV BRIDGE

30
Around the World
Dmitry Zgersky. WITHOUT THE VEIL

31
Evgeny Fadeyev.
A NEW LIFE FOR THE CHAMS

32
Medicine
HOW TO COMBAT CANCER!
Soviet Scientists' Opinion

Cover: I. Smirnov

Klaus Barbie, an ex-SS hangman, a former U.S. secret agent and a one-time police adviser to Bolivian dictators—has been awaiting trial in a Lyons prison since 1983. When will he be brought to trial? Lev Bezymensky reports from France

20 The Third Life of the Butcher of Lyons

NEW TIMES

Editor-in-Chief:
V. IGNATENKO

Associate Editors:
L. BEZYMENSKY,
V. CHERNYAVSKY,
S. GOLYAKOV,
Y. GUDKOV,
A. LEBEDEV,
A. PIN,
B. PISHCHIK,
A. PUMPYANSKY,
V. TSOPPI

Editor of English Edition:
E. Smirnov

STATEMENT

by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV

On January 15, 1986, the Soviet Union put forward a historic programme for the stage-by-stage elimination of nuclear weapons. In this proposal we proceeded from the firm conviction that the security of the future would be nuclear-free. The Soviet leadership, the country's Defence Council, which I am instructed to head, constantly keep the problems of the security of our country, that of our allies, and universal security at the centre of attention. We do not have the slightest doubt that world security and human survival should be ensured by joint efforts and political means, and not by weapons.

The common sense of peoples the world over, the overwhelming majority of parties and movements and the natural instinct for self-preservation reject the logic of humanity's self-destruction. Guided by an awareness of its great responsibility to the world, the Soviet Union favours mutually acceptable solutions in the interest of a nuclear-weapon-free and non-violent world.

At the recent forum in Moscow we were again conscious of the expectations, concerns and intense effort by outstanding scientists and personalities in the field of culture, politics and religion and were again keenly aware of the critical character of our times.

The Reykjavik meeting showed that nuclear disarmament is an entirely realistic policy. In the Icelandic capital we were one step away from an accord on a whole range of such decisions which in their aggregate would have signified a profound breach in the nuclear threat. Herein lay the greatness and tragedy of the Reykjavik meeting. Its greatness was in the fact that an attainable prospect of a nuclear-free world opened up. The tragedy resided in the fact that powerful forces held captive by the mentality of nuclear strength opposed accords.

What has happened since the Reykjavik meeting is common knowledge. The U.S. administration has backed away from what was achieved. The Soviet-U.S. talks, notwithstanding our efforts to give them dynamism and a specific character, are again being deliberately blocked. The same officials who regarded it as logical in Reykjavik to consider the entire package of proposals covering strategic offensive arms, medium-range missiles, space weapons, and nuclear tests, are now preoccupied with sabotaging accords on each of these areas by pleading that the Soviet Union insists on solving them as a package. In fact, however, the talks are being blocked by narrow selfish interests and unwillingness to stop counting on military and technological superiority, as well as by illusory expectations of getting ahead, especially via outer space.

To us this approach is alien and, moreover, unacceptable. Our principle is tirelessly to look for solutions that would open up the way to mutually acceptable accords and equal security.

The Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee, having recently considered the package of issues linked with the programme for a nuclear-free world, has decided to make yet another major step in this direction.

Today, on behalf of the Soviet leadership, I announce our decision, which is as follows.

The Soviet Union suggests that the problem of medium-range missiles in Europe be taken out of the package of issues and that a separate agreement be concluded on it, and this without delay. There is actually an accord already prepared, and not just a basis, for such a step. It was agreed in Reykjavik that the Soviet Union and the United States would eliminate all their medium-range missiles (MRM) in Europe over the next five years. Over the same period the number of Soviet MRMs in the Asian part of our territory would be cut down to a hundred warheads, on the understanding that the United States could leave the same number of MRM warheads in its national territory.

As soon as an agreement on eliminating Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe is signed, the Soviet Union will withdraw longer-range operational tactical missiles from the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia by agreement with the governments of those countries, missiles deployed there in response to the deployment of Pershing 2 and cruise missiles in Western Europe. As far as other operational tactical missiles are concerned, we are prepared to begin talks immediately with a view to reducing and fully eliminating them.

So there is a real chance to free our common European home from a considerable portion of the nuclear burden within the shortest possible time. That would be a real and major step towards the total deliverance of Europe from nuclear arms. We are placing our proposals on the negotiating table for the United States in Geneva.

We have been assured more than once that if the U.S.S.R. were to take the issue of medium-range missiles out of the Reykjavik package, there would be no difficulty in agreeing to their elimination in Europe. A good opportunity is now being offered to prove this in practice. It is awaited by Europeans and the peoples of other continents alike. It is imperative in the interests of the present and the future.

In taking the issue of medium-range missiles in Europe out of the package, the Soviet government is giving the utmost importance to reaching agreement on the substantial limitation and subsequent elimination of strategic arms. Of course, the conclusion of such an agreement, as has been repeatedly emphasized, should be dependent on a decision to prevent the deployment of weapons in outer space, in view of the organic interconnection of these issues.

Despite all the difficulties and artificial obstructions, the Soviet Union is again showing its will to resolve the issue of nuclear disarmament. The new way of thinking means an ability to listen to the voice of the public, both European and international, understand the concerns and interests of other peoples, and not see one's own security as divorced from the security of one's neighbours in our interconnected world.

This historic opportunity should not be missed. We await a prompt and positive response.

On Behalf of the Workingman

As the bus carrying foreign newsmen drove along Lenin Avenue towards the Kremlin, where the 18th Soviet trade union congress was due to open, one of the passengers peered through the window and asked: "What does that slogan there say? 'Glory to Labour'?"

The girl interpreter laughingly replied, "No, it says 'Don't be afraid to advance boldly, take risks and assume responsibility.'"

"Aha! So that's the sort of slogans you have now?"

These slogans indeed reflect the spirit of the times.

"The reforms will stall unless the main protagonists, the people, really get down to play their part in the economic, social, political and cultural spheres, as well as in management," Mikhail Gorbachev said.

As far as the tasks of the trade unions are concerned, the congress singled out as paramount that of gearing economic decisions to social needs to a greater extent. The days when everything was subordinated to production have gone. What is utterly unacceptable in this time of renovation is for the trade unions to dance to the economic executives' drum. Trade union organizations must carry more weight in every aspect of the people's life, including the drafting of production plans, legislation, and prices and wages policy. It may well be said that the vistas opening up before the Soviet trade unions today have never been greater.

However, the trade unions must learn how to make use of their rights. Addressing the congress, Nikolai Travkin, a well-known building worker, said: "We enjoy as many rights as you would wish, even though some fear that democracy is supposedly a double-edged sword, and wonder whether it was worth the trouble of letting the genie out of the bottle. Today the point is not how to let the genie of democracy out of the bottle, but how to push it out of the bottle."

Discussions at the congress were frank and creative. In a most concrete and businesslike way delegates described how matters stood within their respective organizations and what issues should be given priority.

Radical changes in trade union activity found reflection in the new Rules adopted by the congress. This document is indeed a product of collective efforts. Its draft was widely discussed before the trade union congress and at the congress itself. The 170 or so amendments introduced in the draft took into account the suggestions sent by people to the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions after it had been made public.

Some foreign guests gave your correspondent brief interviews.

Henri Krasucki, general secretary of the French General Confederation of Labour, said:

"We French workers are so accustomed to the duplicity of the capitalists that we found it odd to hear some people wonder whether openness would not harm the Soviet Union. Today capitalists shed crocodile tears over your workers having too little democracy, while tomorrow they will accuse you of the reverse. Our working class will always understand you properly, you need have no doubt about that."

Alfred Miodowicz, chairman of the All-Poland Trade Union Alliance, gave a thorough analysis to every speech made at the congress. He said he had come to work, meaning that he wanted to absorb new ideas and learn interesting solutions that could be applied in Poland.

"I for one," he said, "wholeheartedly back the principle of self-financing, cost-accounting, self-supporting — a point made at the congress. I also advocate workers' self-management at enterprises. However, I think this should be done in an organized manner, through the trade unions, and not at random. I fully agree that the trade unions must play a much greater role."

Angelino Garzon was elected general secretary of the Unitarian Trade Union Centre of Colombia last November. But before his appointment, the country's different trade unions with a total membership of about a million federated. He described the struggle of the unions in Colombia for their rights and against the country's mounting economic dependence on the International Monetary Fund.

"Our centre," he said, "is not affiliated to any international federation. Yet this does not mean we are divorced from the world's working class. We stand solidly behind the Nicaraguan working people and the patriots in Chile. As for your congress, we see it as an event of international significance, and a most instructive and edifying one for us. We have really understood the importance of working-class joint action for peace and disarmament. The trade unions have a big part to play in the fight for peace."

The congress gave considerable attention to international issues as well. It expanded upon the theme discussed at the international forum "For a Nuclear-Free World, for the Survival of Mankind," held in Moscow some time ago.

In its appeal to the working people and trade unions of the world, the congress called for a broad alliance between workingmen to secure a nuclear-free world in which there would be neither wars nor violence, and co-operation, not "star wars" in space. Such an appeal must surely touch a responsive chord in the heart of every workingman.

From our special correspondent

Proceedings at the congress give abundant food for thought.

Photo by A. Fomin

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV'S CABLE TO DR HYDER

Moscow greatly appreciates your courageous act and your preparedness to give up your life to end the nuclear arms race. Your appeal for the self-preservation of mankind has been heard by millions, including millions in the Soviet Union. Your inner strength is needed to continue the struggle to avert a nuclear catastrophe. We therefore urge you, Dr Hyder, to end your fasting and invite you to the Soviet Union for treatment and rest.

TO GENERAL SECRETARY MIKHAIL GORBACHEV

Dear Mikhail,

Your generous and compassionate communiqué was warmly received, and I am flattered that you took the time.

You speak of reasons to stop fasting. Reasons do or do not support my profound urges, exquisite fulfilment and self-realization as I continue my increasing disconnection from, and resistance to, the U.S. war machine. This fast will be continuously carried on until the conditions to end the fast are granted by the U.S. government.

I happen to be carrying the torch for the first leg of the relay-fast, but that is a quirk of fate. Many have gathered around the initial few of us, and more than half of the new arrivals have committed to continuing the fast, usually against my advice. I did suggest that they get together and discuss sequencing their fasts rather than all starting when (if) I die.

There is something in the air about fasting in front of the White House, so it is not going to go away in the foreseeable future. We have a way to go yet, but it is deeply effective in motivating people whenever the people know about it. I will keep faith with the fast; thank you anyway.

U.S. media have interfered with our messages getting to the U.S. people, but short-range "Citizen's Band" two-way radios—abundant throughout the U.S. and specially popular with truckers and highway travellers—promise to bring floodlights throughout the U.S. and dissolve the nationwide media blackout.

I think that an informed U.S. public is our best chance to succeed in our joint quest for a world free of the threat of devastating war.

I can only thank you again and communicate my happiness and admiration for the new directions that the Soviet Union has been taking in recent years. You have an enthusiastic supporter in me. Health, happiness and good luck.

Love,

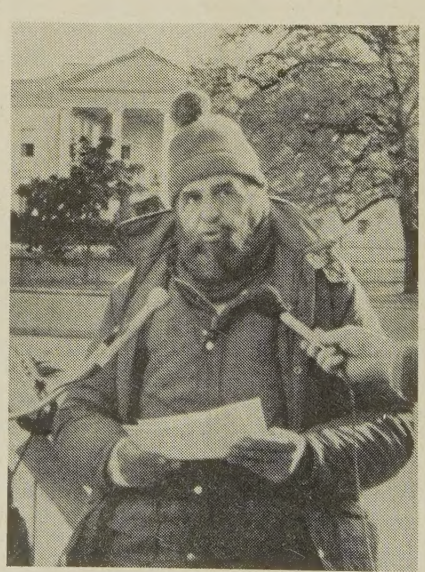
CHARLES HYDER

A Citizen of the Other America

For the last five months a human tragedy has been unfolding in central Washington just across the road from the White House. A hundred yards or so apart, two U.S. citizens—President Ronald Reagan and scientist Dr Charles Hyder, who is protesting against the Reagan administration's nuclear policy, are advocating the principles upon which they believe international relations should be based.

Doctor Charles Hyder, 56, and father of five children, is an American astrophysicist, a former NASA staff member, and author of upwards of 20 scientific works. But above all, he is a brave man. He has been fasting since September 23 last, trying to bring Americans to their senses and urge them to fight against the nuclear threat. "I have been in the peace movement for 18 years and think this kind of protest may prove effective," Dr Hyder said. "For if a nuclear apocalypse occurs, it will be too late to notice dead bodies. That is why I must offer my own life before it happens."

The White House prefers to ignore this. The U.S. administration is turning a blind eye to this act of despair. Its



indifference is astonishing, as if Dr Hyder were not on the other side of the road but on the other side of the Moon. They are ignoring him, and have no wish to speak to him. In Geneva, where he went to see the Soviet and U.S. delegations to the nuclear and space weapon negotiations, he was only able to talk with Soviet diplomats, as the American diplomats would not let him approach.

Nonetheless he has been recognized both at home in America and throughout the world by all who have been so profoundly moved by his dedication to his ideals. He has received hundreds of letters, many from the Soviet Union. In this country Soviet scientists have sponsored a Hyder Solidarity Committee. Its chairman, **Academician Vitaly Goldansky,** told our reporter:

"The proposal to establish a Hyder Solidarity Committee was made at the recent Moscow international forum 'For a Nuclear-Free World, for the Survival of Mankind.' It was Dr Ted Taylor, the well-known American nuclear physicist and former designer of nuclear weapons, who drew attention to Dr Hyder's gallant yet tragic gesture. A letter of solidarity was composed which hundreds of guests at the forum from many countries signed.

"We are increasingly worried by Dr Hyder's condition. Time is passing and each new day may be fatal; he has already lost almost half his original weight. We admire his courage and nobility. Yet we all believe it would be terribly unfair if Dr Hyder were to give up his life trying to halt the U.S. administration's arms race. By his unexampled fasting this American scientist has already done the most he can do for peace. We want Dr Hyder to live,

so that, sound and healthy, and with his energy restored, he can join the ranks of the world's scientists who are campaigning vigorously for a nuclear-free world. The same wish is expressed in the many letters we have received and in a collective statement by several hundred Soviet astronomers."

This unprecedented "fasting for peace" is now in its sixth month. Dr Hyder has emphasized that he will continue it "until the conditions to end the fast are granted by the U.S. government."

VLADIMIR GALIN

* * *

He Thinks of All

To live in the street in the cold and damp before the eyes of passers-by? Dr Hyder is doing just that. He is doing it because he is upholding an idea. He is concerned not for himself, but for everyone. That includes us too. After all, nuclear war will spare nobody. By his fasting this brave American is trying to reach the consciousness of all, who seem so far to be unaware of the disastrous nature of the policy of manufacturing more and more new weapons. I very much hope the U.S. President will eventually pay attention to what is happening on his doorstep and not let Dr Hyder die.

VALENTINA BUROVA
Tula, U.S.S.R.

* * *

Pay Heed to His Appeal

I seldom visit this part of Washington, though I am a long-standing resident of the city. However, on that particular day I went there specially, as I had heard that there was a man who was prepared to die for his beliefs. I saw Charles Hyder and talked with people there. And I realized that this noble man prizes the lives of others more than his own. But for some reason the people living across the road in the White House are taking their time, reluctant to pay attention to the tragedy occurring right outside their door, even though there are not a few people there who are given to "showing concern" for those living in other continents thousands of miles away. How can such "concern" be considered sincere, when no thought is given to a man dying only a couple of steps away, when they do not want to understand why he is protesting or to heed the opinions of others, who share Dr Charles Hyder's convictions?

ANDREW JACKSON
Washington, U.S.

A Voice from Soweto

What Winnie Mandela managed to tell me before the phone went dead.

It took a New Times correspondent three days and numerous telephone calls to Johannesburg to put three questions to Winnie Mandela, wife of Nelson Mandela, the recognized leader of the fighting people of South Africa, who has spent 25 years in jail. The Pretoria authorities were most uncooperative, to put it mildly—they repeatedly cut us off and interrupted our conversation, but the interview did nonetheless take place.

Winnie Mandela was 24 when she married in 1958 the man destined to be a hero for the African population and a "scourge" to the white minority. Even at the time, she was already a convinced opponent of the apartheid regime. To Nelson Mandela, she was not only a wife, but also a comrade-in-arms.

Today she is lovingly referred to as "the wife of the leader" or "the Mother of Africa." Since her husband was jailed 25 years ago, she has herself been prosecuted, arrested, exiled and disenfranchized on many occasions.

Now she is free and carrying on the struggle. I put a call through to Soweto, the black suburb of Johannesburg, where she lives, wished her a happy International Women's Day on March 8 and put some questions to her on behalf of New Times. First I asked her about her husband.

"For Nelson, fighting apartheid has always been and remains his chief goal in life. I have always understood this, and been happy to have such a strong and courageous man beside me. He is my conscience, my banner. We have spent only two years of our 28-year marriage together, and we have cherished every moment of our brief encounters. Immediately after the wedding, Nelson, who was wanted by the police, had to go into hiding in Europe, Algeria and Zambia. The moment he returned home he was arrested and sentenced for life. It was only in 1985, when he was admitted to a Capetown hospital for surgery, that we were able to have a few days together. Our daughters took special pleasure in that. They had grown up without their father but with a firm faith in his cause.

"I had a chance to visit my husband in prison the other day. We talked through a microphone, in the presence of guards, separated from each other by bulletproof glass. Nelson impressed me again as being as determined as he was 25 years ago. His views remain unchanged, as do his objectives: to overthrow the racist regime, have all political prisoners released, and build a democratic state in South Africa where people of different skin colours will live happily together. This is the programme of all freedom fighters."

At that moment the line went dead, and hard as I tried I was unable to get Johannesburg again until the following day.

"What's the current situation in South Africa, as you see it?" I asked her.

"I'd like to tell you, first of all, that the repressive measures taken against us as part of the state of emergency have failed to undermine our will to win. The people's committees and courts are active, and gaining in strength. The number of anti-apartheid fighters is growing, and the people are increasingly determined to take over power. The Pretoria regime is trying to hush up the truth about our people's fight. But the international community must know that blood is still flowing in the cities of South Africa."

She spoke very distinctly, as if dictating. Suddenly we again were interrupted. After the connection had been restored, she went on:

"The racist regime must stop its violence against Africans, withdraw troops from African settlements, release Nelson and all other political prisoners, and lift the ban on the African National Congress and other democratic organizations. Pretoria must stop the bloodshed and enter into negotiations with the African National Congress, which is the true representative of the South African people."

Asked what her cardinal principles were, Winnie Mandela replied:

"I think the main thing is not to deceive yourself and your friends and to be loyal to your ideals. Here is an example of what going back on one's ideals can entail. Kaiser Matanzima, a friend of Nelson's, proposed to me in my youth. Both dreamed of seeing South Africa free and took a solemn oath to serve their people to the last. My husband's courage and fidelity to his ideals are regarded by all of us as symbols of steadfastness and heroism. As for Matanzima, he has become a symbol of collaborationism: he is now President of Transkei, a puppet 'independent state,' one of South Africa's bantustans."

The operator cut her short.

On the third day I managed to get through again and asked if she had any message for the Soviet people, women in particular, on the eve of March 8.

"Nelson and I have had few happy moments and haven't had much of a family life. Nevertheless, we have two daughters, and now grandchildren, too. We want them to be happy, and we also wish happiness to all Soviet mothers and all women the world over. We admire the Soviet Union's effort for peace, for justice, for...."

The line went dead....

NIKOLAI RESHETNYAK
our own correspondent
Lusaka

IS A NUCLEAR-FREE WORLD POSSIBLE?
AND WHAT IN YOUR OPINION ARE THE PREREQUISITES FOR INTERNATIONAL STABILITY?

Fernando Monteiro do Amaral:
A CRITICAL POINT

Fernando Monteiro do Amaral is Chairman of the Assembly of the Republic (parliament) of Portugal and a member of the executive of the ruling Social Democratic Party.

Nuclear arms mean the denial of human dignity as such, the criminal distortion of humanity's highest aspirations. For this reason all plans to demolish the pillars of security, tranquillity and peace, our common asset, must be categorically condemned. We must not allow science to continue to be involved in testing and constantly developing more sophisticated forms of nuclear weapon.

Hope and optimism breed the faith that nuclear weapons will disappear from our lives. And not just optimism and hope, but the very instinct for survival demand that such weapons be jettisoned to prevent the appalling crime to which humanity may be driven. For that reason, I am convinced that a nuclear-free world is not only possible, but vital.

We have reached a critical point in history. I see this as a decisive phase in the history of relations between peoples, and in the awareness by citizens of their rights.

The world has been made smaller in our time not only in terms of means of communication, but also through broader contacts between the people who live in it. Such contacts are of exceptional importance, inasmuch as respect for the equality of all serves to strengthen the sense of solidarity that makes us think and act in a way that contributes to the effort to shape a new world.

Useful dialogue can lead to compromise. Dialogue engenders those offshoots of good will that are so essential in relations between us and will serve to gratify the interests and strengthen the rights of all. This movement of solidarity is indispensable in levelling out political, economic and cultural inequalities and gearing them to principles that make it possible for freedom and justice to take their rightful place.

The solidarity produced by dialogue, understanding, tolerance and justice is consistent with the desire for a dynamic and permanent stability that will contribute to the search for the ways and means that will best serve human progress.

Hence I would like to greet and applaud the contribution made by international and national ogranizations to the effort to strengthen our faith in a better world. It is my conviction that soon dialogue, common sense, justice and wisdom will prevail over violence and the despotism of the strong. ■

Christoph Niess:
NOT MERELY ALONGSIDE, BUT TOGETHER

The artist Christoph Niess is a member of the Art Workers for Peace movement (West Berlin).

The dangerous atomic potential is the product of human intelligence. Intelligent people, provided they have not abandoned their moral principles, are capable of eliminating the nuclear threat, especially nuclear weapons, on earth. I think plans for the future could reject the use of atomic energy completely, even for peaceful purposes.

Provided a confrontation between the camps that represent the major socio-political systems is terminated, and efforts are jointly focussed on goals common to all humanity, it would be altogether logical for the different systems to cooperate, having first reinterpreted the concept of "coexistence" to mean not merely coexistence, but close interaction. They could then pull together to cope with tasks that have considerable bearing on the earth's future. As regards the use of energy, it is vital that we explore together ways and means of developing it that would forever preclude the chance of endangering people. This is essential. Then there would be no ruthless competition between capitalism and socialism in the economic sphere. The U.S.S.R. would not be burdened with the economic pressure forced on it by the arms race. The developing countries, whose populations are forced to live in semi-starvation, would no longer be involved in confrontation, and all the earth's peoples would be able to share vitally important achievements in peace.

We can therefore assert that a nuclear-free world would provide a firm foundation for the earth's future. ■

Gianfranco Rastrelli:
WITHOUT FEAR AND MISTRUST

Gianfranco Rastrelli is secretary of the General Union of Italian Workers.

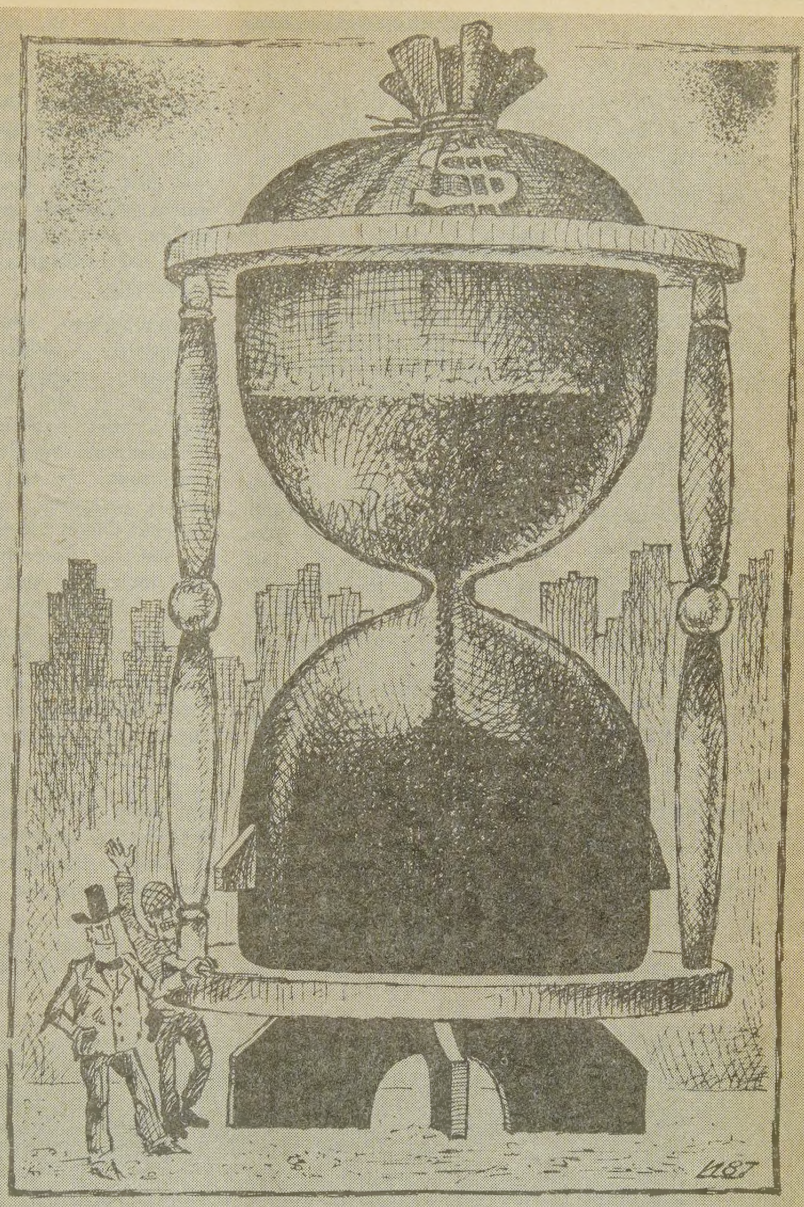
Today a world without nuclear arms is vital. How do I see it? As a world without fear and mistrust between peoples. In a nuclear-free world the ideals of freedom, social justice and brotherhood should take firm root. The individual will acquire his full rights. Recognition by all states of these endduring values will result in the realization that all weapons are utterly unnecessary.

Of course, such a desirable world will not come about on its own. All who want to see such a world must fight for it. ■

MIDDLE EAST

The Yes and the Nays

● THE SOVIET INITIATIVE TO CONVENE REPRESENTATIVE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE MIDDLE EAST UNDER U.N. AUSPICES IS MOST OPPORTUNE. TODAY IT IS BACKED EVEN BY QUARTERS THAT HAD PREVIOUSLY IGNORED IT. HOW SINCERE IS THEIR SUPPORT?



Time well spent.

Cartoon by I. Smirnov

The realization is growing throughout the world that a forum of this order could help to settle the perennial Arab-Israeli conflict. Egypt's Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Ismat Abdel Maguid termed this proposal the "only tangible way to end the Arab-Israeli conflict." Despite all their differences which at times become very acute, the overwhelming majority of Arab states have officially supported the proposal to convene the conference. It has the backing of the non-aligned movement, the Organization of Islamic Conference and many other international organizations.

On February 22 the Common Market foreign ministers meeting in Brussels came out in support of the conference. Only a few days later the issue had been mooted at official U.S.-Israeli and Egyptian-Israeli talks although, to be blunt, the position taken by Washington and Tel Aviv, who have for so long resisted the idea, is still open to question.

French Minister of Foreign Affairs Jean-Bernard Raimond noted that it was the first time the EEC countries had so clearly favoured this initiative for a peaceful settlement in the Middle East. However, some news analysts have observed that in their Brussels statement, the foreign ministers did not specify who should participate in the conference or the role the Palestine Liberation Organization should play in it.

The question of convening the conference was also given prominence at the Egyptian-Israeli talks that Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres conducted in Cairo. In their final communiqué the two sides advocated calling the conference as early as this year.

However, the moment Tel Aviv learned of this, Israeli Premier Yitzhak Shamir in effect disavowed the Cairo communiqué, saying that his foreign minister had not been mandated to agree to a conference. For that matter, even Peres's attitude is far from realistic, as he still categorically rejects the possibility of PLO participation. But, without its plenipotentiary representation this forum, whose mission is to seek out ways of securing a Middle East settlement, would be utterly meaningless. Further, the Israelis seek to define which permanent Security Council members should participate or otherwise, although it is obvious that the presence of all of them and their active contribution are indispensable to the conference's success. The Jordanian newspaper Sawt Al Shaab qualified this position as an attempt "to put the cart before the horse."

Although during Shamir's recent U.S. visit Washington

officialdom would seem to have favoured convening the conference, in fact it is unreservedly taking the line of the Israeli hawks. The Washington Post says the Reagan administration is absolutely opposed to the conference, and that its statements to the reverse are made to win back the influence and trust in the region that Irangate destroyed.

The U.S. and Israeli leaders are being forced to manoeuvre, inasmuch as opposition to the increasingly widely supported proposal for an international conference on the Middle East threatens completely to expose their obstructionism with regard to a peaceful settlement, and to place them in still greater isolation as the search continues for ways and means of bringing a just peace to the region.

ANDREI OSTALSKY

U.S.A.

Those Silent Witnesses

● THE REPORT OF THE TOWER COMMISSION INTO THE IRANGATE SCANDAL HAS BEEN MADE PUBLIC IN WASHINGTON.

What U.S. news analysts are doing is effectively translating the Tower report from English into English. For this document is so "discreet" with respect to the White House that it has to be decoded. According to the report, the President's concept of Irangate "was not accurately reflected in the reality of the operation." The New York Times translates this as "What Mr Reagan called diplomacy, quickly became a series of arms-for-hostages deals—and the President never knew what was going on." "The President was badly served by his advisers," the report says, though "they should have been particularly alert, because they know their President's 'personal management style.'" The translation reads that this "style in this case means disastrous lack of attention, lack of supervision, lack of concern—lack of leadership."

Nonetheless, the report necessarily reflected the American establishment's anxiety as to who shapes U.S. policy today, and how. Hence the assertion that Reagan did not seem to be aware of what measures Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North, a former National Security Council staff member, and his ex-chief Admiral John Poindexter had actually taken. Hence the statement that the President did not seem to be aware that these measures did not conform closely to Washington's official attitude to terrorism. Nor did the President seem to be aware that immediately after the Irangate exposure, the administration had attempted to misinform Americans.

The Tower Commission blames not so much the President as his men, lashing out hardest at White House Chief of Staff, Donald Regan, claiming that this omnipotent adviser had failed to prevent the chaos which Irangate generated, and thus lost his post to Howard Baker. Meanwhile U.S. Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, who had "protected their own positions," "distanced themselves from the march of events." Former National Security Council adviser Robert McFarlane had created "a chronology that obscured the essential facts" in his reports, while Lieutenant Colonel North had "concealed or withheld important information." CIA director William Casey had "actively promoted the National Security Council as a centre of covert operations."

Despite the many weeks of investigations, the commission has not in effect answered a single burning question. Where, for instance, did the $20 million go, that portion of the Iran arms sales receipts intended for the Nicaraguan contras? Who allowed Lieutenant Colonel North to

OBSERVER'S VIEW

Bridges Aren't Burned

The U.S.S.R. observed its moratorium on nuclear tests for over 18 months. It extended the deadline five times. And as often, the Soviet leadership found itself facing the dilemma of whether to continue the moratorium or abandon it. Are we not running too high a risk, it asked itself. Isn't time against us?

Those were legitimate doubts. Nevertheless, again and again, we opted for restraint. This accorded with our philosophy, our socialist morality, our sense of responsibility for the fate of civilization. We are convinced that the might of a state—especially a large one—does not lie in the endless demonstration of its ability to build up and improve its war machine or in chasing the spectre of military supremacy. Not at all. Security can be achieved through the elimination of nuclear weapons. It must be maintained not by force of arms, but by joint efforts, by political means. The task now is to learn to live together rather than to build up superweapons so as eventually to throw each other onto the rubbish heap of history.

A world without nuclear explosions offers a shortcut to a nuclear-free world. That was the idea of our moratorium, and we applied all our restraint and good will to make it a reality. The Americans responded with 26 new tests, which were carried out with ostentatious defiance, and timed to coincide either with a further prolongation of the moratorium, or with this or that Soviet peace initiative. We were even invited to Nevada to see how it was all going with our own eyes.

We know who we are dealing with and what the other side wants us to do. The Soviet Union had every reason to resume tests. But we realized, nevertheless, that our restraint was not in vain. The moratorium has convinced us that the ending of tests is a realistic proposition. Without tests there will be no improving nuclear weapons, of which both sides have stockpiled more than enough.

This simple logic is winning increasingly wide support worldwide. Mighty political and social forces ranging from the Delhi Six and the Socialist International to most non-aligned states favour a joint Soviet-American moratorium, an agreement on banning all nuclear tests. Such an agreement is also insisted upon by most U.N. member states, an authoritative and sizable section of the world community.

A spate of messages from politicians and public figures, private individuals, movements and organizations from all over the world—the U.S. and NATO countries included—have poured into Moscow, asking us not to resume nuclear tests and to give those who will stop at nothing another chance.

We have given them five such chances. Using them would have con-

collect this money at a time when a U.S. Congressional ban on subsidies for the contras was in force? Had President Reagan indeed approved arms sales to Iran before these supplies were made?

North and Poindexter, whose names crop up on nearly every page of the report, could furnish the answers to many of these questions. However, they are silent. They have, it is maintained, invoked the "democratic right" of the Fifth Amendment not to incriminate themselves. But what about the democratic right of others to be told the truth about this "deal of the century"?

The commission's report has directed its criticism mainly against the administration's incompetence, inadequately coordinated action and abuse of power. The document is devoted rather to the technology of power than to political priorities. It makes no attempt to correlate this stalling technology with Washington's foreign policy strategy. What is evidently the matter here is a reluctance in principle to call into question the underlying trend of Washington's foreign policy.

Yet it is that policy that has dictated the style that is now under fire. Men like North believed themselves entitled to effect covert operations, foment wars and threaten the legitimate governments of other countries. There is certainly a definite logic in the fact that they applied similar methods with respect to U.S. legislation, Congress and the public at large.

By sidestepping such conclusions, the report's writers have themselves stooped to misinformation. The basic purpose of the Iranian arms deal was, they claim, to free American hostages. However, as has been admitted more than once in the course of the Irangate hearings, the hostages merely served as a cover-up for plans to restore the American position in the Persian Gulf area. The report presents the entire Iran-Nicaragua swindle as a departure from the mainstream of Reagan's foreign policy. In fact Irangate was the practical application of Washington's neoglobalism.

EDGAR CHEPOROV
APN correspondent in New York, exclusive for New Times

SPAIN

Crucial Decision

● FELIPE GONZALEZ SAID SPAIN WAS GOING TO ACCEDE TO THE NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY.

In our previous issue we quoted influential El Pais which wrote that work had long been going on in the country to develop its own nuclear bomb. In this light the statement of the head of government has drawn particular attention. Observers recall that over the past few years the Premier has not been consistent in his assessment of the treaty, now praising now criticizing it.

It is to be hoped that the logic of our nuclear-missile age will compel an increasing number of statesmen onto realistic positions. The report from Madrid seems to sustain this hope.

The latest opinion polls show that most Spaniards disapprove of joining the nuclear club. Demands to close U.S. bases in Spain and preclude the appearance here of nuclear weapons carried whether by ships or planes are growing ever more insistent.

Judging by everything, in particular its decision on acceding to the treaty, the government cannot afford to ignore these sentiments.

ALEXANDER LEBEDEV

tributed to confidence, the triumph of common sense, and open international communication. All our partners had to do was to display new political thinking, which Washington did not.

No matter how alluring the prospects of a nuclear-free world are, no country can attain this goal single-handed. All nuclear powers must pool their efforts in this direction. Quiet in Kazakhstan and a nuclear rumble in Nevada could not continue forever. Finally, the situation has come to a head.

Who can blame us for that? Our conscience is clear. Having exhausted its patience, weighed the sacred interests of security and heeded the alarmed voices of its citizens, our state has decided to resume testing. In and outside the country, this has been taken as a forced measure imposed on us by the American nuclear warmongers.

"We in Sweden welcome the Soviet moratorium on nuclear tests, but we can understand why the U.S.S.R. has resumed testing," Ingemund Bengtsson, Speaker of the Swedish Riksdag (parliament) told Andrei Gromyko in Moscow.

"The U.S. has played an unseemly role in this business, and an analysis of Washington's stand on disarmament only adds to this impression, which most countries, the allies included, share," the Paris newspaper Le Monde wrote.

The allies are not entirely without sin themselves, though. Horst Ehmke, deputy chairman of the SDPG faction in the Bundestag, is of the opinion that they, too, are to blame since "they didn't press Washington hard enough to join the Soviet moratorium."

This is a just reproach. In the fight for a nuclear-free world every voice matters, and every country must do its bit. No government and no public force has the moral right to shun responsibility or stand idly by. Such is the imperative of the nuclear-missile age.

The underground explosion near Semipalatinsk on February 26 has not changed the principled stand of the Soviet Union.

The bridges have not been burned. The possibility of an agreement remains. Today, too, the Soviet Union is prepared to negotiate the banning of all nuclear tests anywhere, at any forum, and at any level but with, of course, the U.S. present. The objective may be attained stage by stage, beginning with the ratification of the Soviet-American "threshold" agreements of 1974 and 1976 and the imposition of intermediate restrictions on the quantity and yield of nuclear explosions. Such is our plan, and whether the West accepts it or not time will tell. As for us, we are not going to waste our time. We shall not give up looking for ways of reaching mutually acceptable agreements. The new proposals Mikhail Gorbachev put forward in his statement of February 28 are an earnest of this. Symbolically, the statement was published on the threshold of spring, an appropriate time for the awakening of new hopes and taking a resolute step into a non-nuclear future!

SERGEI GOLYAKOV
New Times political analyst

Alternative to Militarism

Prof. John Galbraith of Harvard University, a leading U.S. economist and political and public figure, granted the following interview to our reporter at the Moscow forum "For a Nuclear-Free World, for the Survival of Mankind."

Professor, how to make coexistence effective?

I see the solution primarily in getting the Americans recognize that the great issue of our time is not socialism and capitalism, but militarism. There is now a widespread understanding that we cannot have nuclear war, that we cannot survive a nuclear war.

I have been for many years a director of the Council for a Livable World, and we had a great success last year in getting support of candidates who advocate arms control. And I have hopes that in the future the people that don't give support to arms control will see their political future ended.

In your book "A Life in Our Times" I met a very interesting observation. The conservatives, you write, get the upper hand over the liberals because they shout louder.

I think that is still true. In the past, the conservatives had been better in instilling fear of political defeat in their opponents—the left and liberals. I think the situation is changing, and the conservative morale has been somewhat declining.

Since coexistence presupposes disarmament measures, there arise not only political but also economic problems. Economists could make a big contribution to disarmament by advancing practical proposals on how to convert military industries to civil production.

I'm very sympathetic to this view and proposals of this kind, though I've been less disturbed on this issue than some other people. First, because we in the U.S. have pressing alternative needs for resources that are now going into war production. There are economic infrastructures that are in a very poor condition, including roads, railroads, our school system, not to mention our social programmes. Therefore, we'll have no difficulty finding alternative ways of spending what we now devote to arms. Second, the great economic success of Japan and, in a smaller measure, of West Germany after the second world war has been the result of having capital and human resources devoted to civilian production, not to military purposes. The countries with the lowest war expenditures since the second world war have obviously been the countries of greatest economic success. And therefore, I have solid grounds to belive that if we spend less for military purposes we would have a much more successful economy.

Do you want to say that the discussions on the competitiveness of the U.S. economy now going on in Congress are connected with the problem of conversion of resources?

One of the important steps to restore our competitive position would be to have more of our scientists, engineers, skilled workers and capital used for civilian production, for improving the life of the people. When we talk about these matters, we must always separate hope, romance from reality.

Let's look at the things from another side. The conservatives say that defence industries provide jobs, and a lot of constituencies in the U.S. depend on these jobs.

There must be readjustments, of course. There are particular areas—for example, San Diego in California, Norfolk in Virginia, some places adjacent to military establishments in the south—where there would be unemployment. One must be realistic about that. And one must be sure that steps are taken so that the reconversion costs do not fall on the people working there. But I don't think the problem would be serious, as serious as some may suppose. During the second world war I was closely involved with operations in economic management. I was in charge of price control, one of the critical jobs in those days. We had a long discussion on reconversion, because we feared that unemployment would increase after the war and the economy would return to the condition of the Great Depression. In fact, reconversion was almost painless, so that we have some historical proof that this can be accomplished.

But I don't want to minimize this problem. Yet I'm not prepared to accept the view that we must continue arms manufacture in order to keep the economy going.

There is now much talk in the West about economic interdependence. But doesn't this interdependence, in its present form, mean the dependence of other Western countries on the vast market of consumer and manufactured goods and the credit policy of the United States?

I agree with that. Fifty years ago the U.S. had a very large economy—but that was an internal economy. Now it has become much more of an external economy, both in exports and imports. Therefore, there is no question that the world [capitalist] is much more influenced by the U.S. economy than before. But the U.S. economy is much more at the mercy of the world economy too. One of the spectacular developments of the past few years has been our movement from a creditor status to a debtor status.

What do you think about Soviet-American relations?

I've not been happy about them in recent years. I would like to see joint steps to control the arms race, and I think this is the basic issue. I've been very unhappy about the lack of progress on that.

On the other hand, there are optimistic signs. There has been less mutual recrimination in the last year or so. On our side, we had less talk about the "evil empire," which I don't approve of. The last few years have seen a very broad public movement in the U.S. for coexistence and nuclear arms control. In the summer of 1980 I spoke for a nuclear arms freeze at the convention of the Democratic Party. I was defeated then, our resolution was turned down. Four years later that resolution came for the Democratic convention and was voted unanimously, an indication of a change for the better.

Will the present administration take real steps for disarmament?

I don't think we should expect miracles, but I do feel that public opinion in the U.S. is well ahead of the government in the desire to reach agreements.

National Reconciliation: Friends and Foes

From a journalist's notebook

ADA PETROVA

Everybody in Afghanistan now hopes for a favourable outcome to the policy of national reconciliation boldly announced by Kabul. But there have already been more than 650 shellings of towns and villages by counterrevolutionaries in the short period since January 15, when the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan announced its unilateral cease-fire....

The Hard Way Home

Enemies, dushmans, come to Kabul for negotiations. Many of them come with the sincere intention of putting an end to the war, others merely to have a look round, to see how the land lies.

The guests surrendered their submachine guns at a checkpoint when entering the city. In return they were issued with coupons entitling them to get their weapons back on their way out.

Only recently 540 dushmans came to the capital to talk about reconciliation. I was doing a story for the television news programme Vremya. There were also some 30 foreign journalists from Western agencies, television companies and newspapers. Many of the dushmans had already posed more than once for our Western colleagues in specially stage-managed military scenes about "red Afghanistan" which had "sold out," where the dushmans sported Afghan and Soviet uniforms.

They walked and drove around Kabul, met with General Secretary Najib, and some rose to the speakers' platform and spoke earnestly of how tired they now were of the war. But only 200 signed a cease-fire agreement; 150 flatly refused, and still others said they wanted to think about it.

This is just one example. The authorities are now conducting peace talks with many armed groups in various parts of the country. The number of those who have stopped fighting and laid down arms runs into thousands....

Of my numerous recent meetings, two particularly impressed me. One was with a big family of refugees who had returned to Afghanistan. The other was with a group of former deserters from the tzarandoi (people's militia). They were living witnesses from "the other side"—Iran and Pakistan.

Mouladad, a former junior clerk from Jaji district in Paktia Province, has a family of twelve. Three years ago their village was seized by counterrevolutionaries and razed to the ground. His eldest son was killed. The rest were herded to Pakistan and settled in Hapyan camp.

Tears running down their cheeks, they told me that the camp was effectively a prison and that they had not been allowed to leave it. The entire family lived in a shed. They just had enough food not to starve. The children were sick.

Those who have small transistors secretly listen to Kabul Radio. Some have been executed for this. Nevertheless, news of the national reconciliation proposed by the government spread through the refugee camps like wildfire. To return home is the dream of many Afghans who have found themselves abroad and experienced suffering and humiliation. On hearing the appeal, they began to think about how to get back.

Mouladad's family told the Pakistani guards that it wanted to visit the holy places. Moslems cannot object to this. But the last of the Mouladad family's possessions were taken away. Hungry, rag-clad and barefoot, they spent many days and nights crossing mountains and deserts to reach Kabul

The D.R.A. government promised all refugees support and aid. This is not easy in a war-ravaged country. People need housing, at least some furniture and utensils, clothing and food. Most of the returnees do not have a single afghani and cannot buy even bread. The people of Kabul collect shoes, old clothes, blankets, pillows and utensils for the returning refugees. Many offer shelter to as many as 10-15 at a time, and this despite large families of their own. So it can happen that there are 30 or even 40 people in a small house. They hope that with time everything will sort itself out. They are able-bodied, so they can work. One day they will have their own homes. But the main thing is that they are back in their native land.

Yet another meeting was with 11 deserters who at one time or another had violated their oath of allegiance and found themselves in the enemy camp. While we were looking for a suitable location for filming, some of them, on learning that we were from Soviet television, vanished. Their companions explained to us that many of them had left their relatives abroad and that if they appeared on television the relatives would be murdered.

Now these men have again put on the uniforms of the people's militia. They have been forgiven and their intentions taken on faith, just as the

The changes in Afghanistan are in tune with the interests of the people. Below: (left) peasants holding the deeds to their plots of land and (right) a veteran worker sharing his experience with a beginner.

TASS photos

declaration on national reconciliation guarantees.

Junior Sergeant Hamil Rahman has returned from Pakistan. Four years ago he served with the tzarandoi in Ghazni Province. He put on civilian clothes and deserted to the dushmans. Others have similar stories.

Noon came, and with it mealtime, which is held sacred by Afghans. Rice with a small piece of meat, peas, fruit and water were served—all wage and salary earners get this free.

"In the camps, both in Pakistan and Iran, we were trained to kill, using all types of weapon. But each of us had his own speciality. Those who are trusted most are trained to use chemical weapons. On many occasions I crossed into the D.R.A., accompanying caravans of camels and donkeys laden with this terrible load," Hamil Rahman said.

"Have you seen the dushman leaders?"

"Yes, many times. They make speeches in the military camps at least once a month. They try to persuade listeners that Islam is in danger. But fewer and fewer people believe them. Besides, there is no accord among them. We saw numerous clashes, including the real bloodbaths by means of which various bands often try to resolve their selfish differences. The leaders live in luxury and indulge in sin—they have huge harems that are replenished with abducted young girls. For entertainment they organize cock, dog and camel fights, although this is forbidden by Shariat. And these very people champion the purity of Islam! Many of the top dushmans have made a lot of money out of the war—they have become millionaires. What do they need reconciliation for?"

Every conversation with a former refugee yields new tragic details. They explain a lot, dot the i's and cross the t's. How, for instance, is the so-called U.S. humanitarian assistance spent? On the purchase of modern arms and the payment of hired killers. In big formations that are specially trained and infiltrated into the D.R.A., a rank-and-file dushman is paid 20-25 thousand afghani a month! A huge sum. For the sake of comparison: a minister in Kabul gets about 9,000 a month.

Revolutionary Humanism

The revolution has to defend itself resolutely. Yet it is profoundly humane. Just before the decree on amnesty was published (more than 5,000 prisoners have already been released in accordance with it), a group of journalists visited the Pul-i-Charhi prison.

We asked for permission to speak with those who qualified for the amnesty.

Abdul Rahim, 29, headed a dushman gang that operated for three years in Herat. For his anti-government armed activity he was sentenced to 15 years. He has already spent five years behind bars. He said he was treated well when he was captured, sentenced and taken to prison. Now he wanted to repay this in kind. He is not afraid of returning to his province. I will go to the people's authorities and tell them, "I am at your disposal," he said.

Abdul Karim, 46, is from Kunduz Province. He spent almost a year in a dushman camp where American instructors trained him to handle weapons, mine roads and carry out acts of terrorism. He was sentenced to seven years. Only a few weeks of the sentence remain unserved but it is important to him to qualify for the amnesty. He is a driver by trade. His family lives in Khanabad and he says he welcomes the policy of national reconciliation. Many of those amnestied have already been released.

Six weeks of the six-month cease-fire announced by the government have already passed, a quarter of the time allotted to reach national reconciliation. The people's government is calling for offences to be forgotten and prejudices discarded; it is urging people to rise above enmity, ambition and settling personal scores in the name of peace and calm in this ravaged and suffering country.

National reconciliation inside the country and the political settlement of the entire situation around Afghanistan are closely intertwined issues. And the government takes this into account when coordinating its policies in the national and international arenas.

The road to national reconciliation is difficult, complex and thorny. But it inspires hope. Could a weak, unstable regime propose such a task? The government and the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan are ready for any contacts with those who want dialogue for the sake of the success of reconciliation and are prepared for concessions and compromises. They have called upon the opposition forces both inside and outside the country to enter into negotiations on forming a coalition government of national unity.

National reconciliation commissions are now working at every level—from village to national. Everything is being done for the fair distribution of the free aid that is being provided.

Everything is now being directed at achieving national reconciliation, preserving a sovereign, independent and non-aligned Afghanistan. There has been enough bloodshed, and peace is imperative. This is the topic that is most discussed. It gives meaning to life. It gives hope. For it people work and act.

Kabul, March

The Land Court of Bonn has wound up proceedings in the biggest political scandal in the F.R.G.'s history—the Flick affair. On February 16, Judge Buchholz announced the sentences on three of the highest-ranking officials ever to find themselves in the dock in the F.R.G. They were the former Economics Mininster Otto von Lambsdorff, his predecessor in the post, Friderichs (both members of the Free Democratic Party) and former manager of the Flick concern von Brauchitsch. All three were acquitted on the first charge of giving and taking bribes. They were, however, found guilty on the second charge of evading taxes on Flick's donations to political parties. Brauchitsch has been given a two-year suspended prison sentence and fined. Lambsdorff and Friderichs got off with only fines.

That the worst was over for the accused became clear in July last year, when Judge Buchholz decided to stop interrogating witnesses able to shed light on the question of bribes. As regards tax evasion on donations, i.e., illegal funding of political parties, such machinations do not, according to the local moral code, tarnish the honour of those involved. Lambsdorff, who has been restored to the Bundestag as an FDP deputy, told journalists that he considers himself eligible for any post in party and government. After all, many people in government and the Bundestag have been implicated in similar dealings. It was with this in mind that he made his ironic remark in his final statement to the judges: "You would have to punish legions for tax evasion."

Background Story

The bribing of political parties and their leaders by big business is as old as bourgeois democracy itself. German industrialists and bankers have particularly rich experience of it. Back in the days of the Weimar Republic they founded organizations whose sole purpose was to collect donations to the funds of political parties able to represent their interests. Carl Duisberg, an executive of the IG Farben chemical concern, formulated its goals thus at the constituent meeting of the so-called Citizens for State Association: "The procedure for discussing important economic issues needs to be modified. America offers an example of how this can be done. There, industrialists determine policies. If major issues have to be decided on, they get together, discuss them and lay down guidelines for further work. Over here, such affairs are decided in the Reichstag. Therefore we can and must influence party politics.

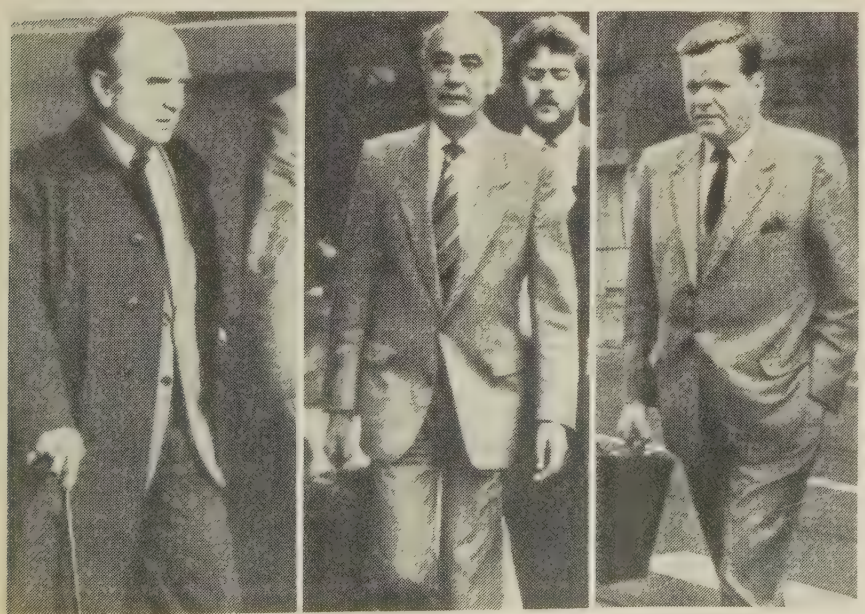
Corruption: All in the Day's Work

But no one now thinks parties can be influenced by appealing to common sense alone. Obstacles can be overcome only by systematic influence. Money is one of the means by which the association can promote its aspirations and plans."

In the late 1920s bankers and industrialists put their stake on the nazi party. One of the more generous contributors to the treasury of the National Socialists war Flick, Sr., a member of the so-called "Himmler circle."

In 1949, when the Federal Republic was established, Flick was still serving a prison sentence imposed by an American military tribunal, and West Germans still had fresh memories of what the marriage of big money and nazism had led to. The founding fathers of the F.R.G. Constitution included therefore, in Article 21, a clause to the effect that parties "shall be accountable to the public as to the sources of their funds." Thus, while not expressly forbidden to finance political parties, industrialists were at least supposed to do so openly. The Constitution came into force on May 24, 1949, and as early as June 10, two months before the first elections to the Bundestag, the employers' associations and the parties supporting a capitalist "market economy" reached a secret agreement under which these parties got two million marks for election purposes. Of this sum, 65 per cent went to the CDU and 25 per cent to the Free Democrats. This paid for the CDU's abandonment of the Ahlen programme of February 1947, which reflected a sentiment widely prevalent in the postwar period: "The capitalist economic system no longer meets the vital state and social interests of the German people." In that same year, 1949, Flick, Sr., who was running his empire from his prison cell, made his first donation to the treasury of the CSU in Bavaria. Flick and others of his ilk lost no time in gaining control of the new state. In 1954 the employers revived the Citizens for State Association, whose board of directors included representatives of major banks, and industrial, trade and insurance concerns. The CDU/CSU and the FDP received at least 200 million marks through this organization. In addition to the nationwide Citizens for State Association, regional seminars, "societies," "associations" and "clubs" sprouted, ostensibly for educational or research purposes. Their actual function was to launder "dirty money" from employers and transfer it to the accounts of bourgeois parties and individual politicians.

Otto von Lambsdorff, Hans Friderichs and Eberhard von Brauchitsch.



On the strength of the goals proclaimed in their charters, all these institutions were officially recognized as organizations serving the public weal. That is to say, they enjoyed the same status as charities helping the poor or the homeless, and donations to organizations serving the public weal are exempt from taxes.

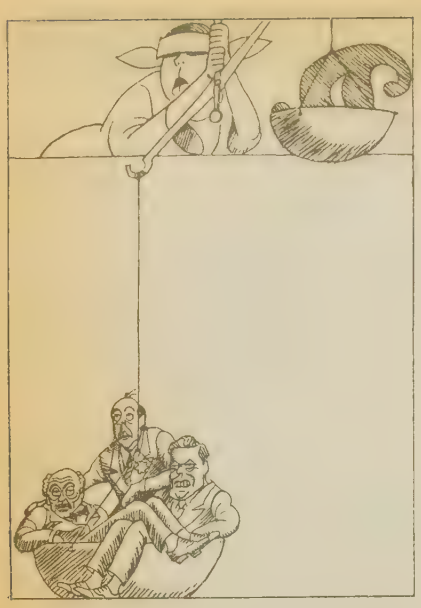
By channelling funds to this or that party, or by putting them on a "lean diet," employers effected the breakup of party coalitions that did not suit them, caused political realignments at Land and federal level, obstructed or expedited the passing of legislation and influenced party programmes. A cleverly organized and wide-ranging system of political corruption operated without a hitch over many decades. It was by a concatenation of circumstances that the scandal erupted.

It all started with a trivial affair. Tax officials in Sankt Augustin, a township in the suburbs of Bonn, suspected one Peter Müllenbach of failing to pay tax on 110,000 marks. Having received a warrant, inspectors searched Müllenbach's office and discovered a file with documents testifying to a far greater scale of corruption.

Müllenbach was no ordinary citizen. He was manager of the CDU-owned firm Union-Betrieb. His work in this capacity had earned him a Federal Cross for Merit. When the inspectors discovered the coded file, the holder of the Federal Cross got very edgy. He did not want to part with it and even threatened to "lodge a complaint."

After examining the documents in the file the inspectors realized why Müllenbach was so nervous. They all dealt with a "European consultancy office for employers" headquartered in the capital of Liechtenstein. As the documents indicated, dozens of West German firms availed themselves of the services of Liechtenstein experts for generous fees. The money, however, returned to the treasury of the CDU in the F.R.G. Clearly, the Liechtenstein firm was merely a mailbox for remitting money, and "consultations" were just a diversionary tactic.

The same inspectors from Sankt Augustin came on another lead when examining the financial affairs of a Catholic mission across the street from the tax office. They discovered that over several years the Flick concern had



"Defendants of such calibre were more than a match for justice."
Photo and cartoon from Der Spiegel (F.R.G.)

donated a total of 12-odd million marks to the mission. This money was not, however, used for charity. Eighty per cent of the sum was returned to Flick in cash. The remainder was divided between Walter Löhr, a former Bundestag deputy from the CDU who acted as a go-between, and the missionaires.

Everything pointed to Rudolf Diehl, the concern's chief accountant. The Bonn prosecutor's office stepped in. A thick account book was found in Diehl's safe, listing the names of leading members of all the parties represented in the Bundestag at the time, and stating the sums paid to them.

It did not escape the notice of the Bonn investigators that payments to Friderichs (375,000 marks) and Lambsdorff (135,000 marks) were made at exactly the time when Flick was seeking tax exemption for major financial deals involving the sale of a part of the stocks of the Daimler-Benz motor company and the reinvestment of the proceeds (1,900 million marks), some of which went to the other side of the Atlantic. This gigantic operation was carried out in several stages and at each stage the decision on tax exemption depended on the Economics Minister, a post held first by Friderichs and then by Lambsdorff. The prosecutors characterized the ministers' actions as "reciprocal favours" for money received from Flick's "black treasury" and accused Friderichs and Lambsdorff of bribe-taking and the former manager of the concern, von Brauchitsch, of giving bribes. The prosecutors did not dare put Flick himself in the dock.

The sensational revelations of the tax inspectors and the prosecution met with a lukewarm response in high places. Klaus Förster, the chief of tax inspection in Sankt Augustin, who went about his work with such zeal, was eventually forced to leave the civil service.

Investigation into financial malpractice caused panic in the headquarters of Bonn's parties. "We shall not leave those who helped us in the lurch," declared CDU Chairman Kohl. In late 1981, burying their political differences, the parties in the Bundestag set up a parliamentary group which hastily prepared a bill that would have suspended the investigation of all cases linked with the illegal funding of political parties. There was, however, no unanimity among the Social Democrats, many of whom were aware that by backing the bill they would lose the support of rank-and-file party members and the electorate. As a result, the bill never became law.

A second attempt to rescue the "tax offenders" was made in the spring of 1984 when a new coalition—CDU, CSU and FDP—had come to power. That attempt was frustrated by the opposition and some FDP deputies.

Acquitted

Having announced the decision on "behalf of the people," Judge Buchholz proceeded to read out the validation of the verdict. The reading lasted, with short intervals, for seven and a half hours. Those journalists who decided to stay to the end feel that the time was not wasted. As the magazine Spiegel pointed out, they learned "why defendants of such calibre were more than a match for justice."

Buchholz began by stating that it had been an unusual trial in many ways. For example, for the first time in West German legal history, the accused had tried to challenge a prosecutor, resorting to the help of parliamentary bodies. (The demand was made by the CDU faction in the parliament of North Rhine-Westphalia.) The court was faced with a difficult task, Buchholz complained. And witnesses had not been very forthcoming, answering "I don't know" or "I can't remember" to all the essential questions.

One can agree with Buchholz that exposing an act of bribe-taking is no easy task. But even if the fact of money changing hands could be proven, said Buchholz, this would not automatically mean "criminal association." Friderichs and Lambsdorff were known to favour the Flick concern anyway and palm-greasing was unnecessary. In giving money to the ministers, Brauchitsch may have had more ambitious goals in mind than securing tax exemptions.

As Buchholz pointed out, the autumn of 1976 (when, according to Diehl's records, Brauchitsch made the pay-off to Friderichs) was to see elections for the Bundestag. The aim of the CDU/CSU was to oust the SDP. It is possible that Brauchitsch sought to use Friderichs to influence the FDP and cause it to break with the Social Democrats and form a coalition with the Christian Democrats after the elections. These could also have been Brauchitsch's motives in 1980, when Lambsdorff, another influential member of the FDP, held the post of Economics Minister. Buchholz believes that his theory is corroborated by the events of 1982, when the FDP did change coalition partners. Lambsdorff was among the main instigators of the break with the Social Democrats.

However, Buchholz saw nothing to implicate Brauchitsch in criminal activity. The criminal code does not consider an attempt to bribe a political party or the whole government to be a punishable offence.

The trial of Friderichs, Lambsdorff and Brauchitsch was an indictment of the whole West German state, and its political and social system. That was why the court was hamstrung in passing the verdict. "The judge and civil servant Buchholz," writes Rudolf Augstein, publisher of Der Spiegel, "had no option. And he slapped the state in the face by returning a third degree acquittal."

ALEXANDER TOLPEGIN
our own correspondent
Bonn

In this new regular feature we shall focus on events, recent and less recent, that shed light on many current developments, clarify the aims of the political struggle in the international arena and, last but certainly not least, uncover the roots of imperialism's present-day policy.

WHEN SANCTIONS BEGAN

Thumbing through the diplomatic records for the first half of 1917, one finds repeated assurances by U.S. President Woodrow Wilson (see photograph) of good intentions towards a revolutionary country, even a desire to render "disinterested aid." But what did this aid actually amount to? It is common knowledge that, immediately after the October 1917 Revolution, the U.S. administration declared that it would not recognize the new Soviet power. According to the U.S. State Department, Soviet power "cannot be tolerated." That was more than a declaration.

One of the first moves of the U.S. government was to break off all economic ties with Russia. Only two days after the revolution, David Francis, U.S. ambassador to Russia, advised the State Department to make "no loans to Russia at present." On November 19, 1917, the U.S. War Trade Board resolved: "For the time being and until further action by the Board, to withhold all licences for exportation of controlled commodities to Russia, including licences for transpacific shipments." At the time

the government of the U.S. and its allies in Europe were holding consultations with a view to ending supplies to and trade with Russia. The Bolsheviks, David Francis stated, do not merit recognition and are not even deserving of business ties.

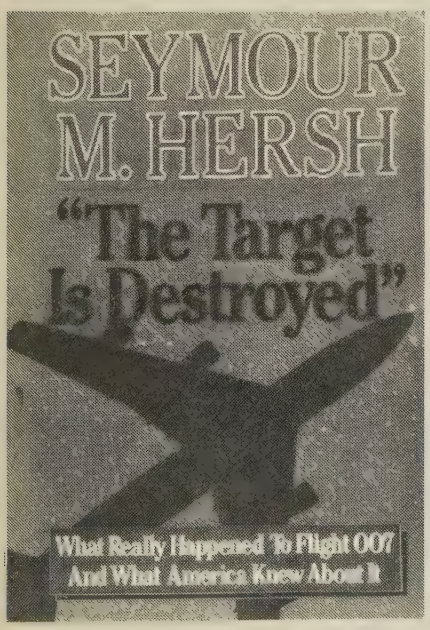
The trade embargo was justified as follows: "But if the Bolsheviks will remain in power and will put through their programme of making peace with Germany, the present embargo on exports to Russia will remain in force." Evidently the October Revolution's appeal for peace and an end to the imperialist war caused particular displeasure in Washington.

What underlay the U.S. discriminatory action? Whereas before the outbreak of the first world war U.S. investment in Russia totalled no more than $68 million, by the time of the October Revolution this amount had increased several-fold. More specifically, the U.S. had virtually monopolized the exploitation of the natural wealth of the Chukchi Peninsula by the spring of 1917. In the summer of that year a mission arrived in Russia seeking, in the guise of technical aid for the Provisional Government, to gain control of the country's railways, its main economic nerve.

Meanwhile, in the Far East, the U.S. and Britain seized most of the steamships of the Russian Voluntary Fleet, which in particular had brought cargoes to Kamchatka. In the upshot the peninsula was isolated. In a cable, the local Soviet reported that "the discontinuation of food supplies due to the seizure of the Voluntary Fleet by the Americans and the British threatens the population with death by starvation."

Such were the origins of the ill-famed policy of sanctions, relapses into which we continue to encounter to this day.

BORIS KOZLOV



WHAT REALLY HAPPENED

In the U.S. last year the American journalist Seymour M. Hersh published a book entitled "'The Target Is Destroyed.' What Really Happened to Flight 007 and What America Knew About It." In the book he presents hitherto unknown evidence relating to the provocative flight of the South Korean airliner.

The first piece of evidence goes back to the pre-flight period and shows that such operations had been conceived long before. "In the early spring of 1983, Ronald Reagan," Hersh writes, "after many months of relative restraint, condemned the Soviets as an 'evil empire' and challenged the legitimacy of the Soviet government.... Thousands of miles away from the White House press corps and the presidential talk of 'evil empire,' the United States Pacific Fleet was beginning its largest manoeuvres since World War II in the North Pacific. During the three-week exercise, Navy warplanes from the aircraft carriers Midway and Enterprise directly overflew Soviet military installations on the Kuril Islands just north of Japan....

"American warships were authorized by the President late in March to operate and exercise closer to Soviet borders than ever before.... In all, 23,000 American military men took part."

Seymour Hersh's next piece of evidence refers to the autumn of 1983, the first few days after the South Korean plane had been shot down over Soviet territory in the pursuit of its espionage mission. He writes:

"Some senior Air Force and Navy officers in the Pacific... 'got emotional,' as one officer recalled, and began formulating actions for retaliation against the Soviet Union, actions 'that could have started World War III.' The officer, who was stationed in the Pacific, told of being approached by an Air Force general and asked to forward an essentially fraudulent intelligence report to the Pentagon that was designed to justify acts of provocation against the Soviet Union."

L.E.

Breakthrough or Fortuity?

Swedish Oncologists' Hypothesis

"If he is proved right, it may be the biggest biomedical breakthrough of the century." So a new method of treating cancer developed by Professor Björn Nordenström is being assessed in Sweden.

Three and a half years ago doctors diagnosed breast cancer and prescribed immediate surgery for 35-year-old Eva-Britt Nilsson, a psychiatrist. She refused and decided to try to conquer the terrible disease by other methods. She resorted to special diets, eating raw vegetable food, and autogenic training to make her body rally to fight the illness.

Before long, however, she went to Professor Nordenström and submitted to his course of treatment. The tumour began to shrink and soon disappeared. Today Eva-Britt is in excellent health and there is no trace of her former illness. But she is still under observation, and doctors are working to strengthen her immune system.

What is Nordenström's method?

The professor applies a direct electric current to the malignancy. He believes that in addition to the circulatory and lymphatic systems, the organism has an electricity-carrying system functioning on definite principles.

On the face of it the method is very simple. Perhaps it is another proof of the old truth that all brilliant ideas are simple. Let us not be unduly optimistic, yet....

"Because different tissues have different conductivity, electrical charges can travel inside the human body," writes Nordenström in the Swedish newspaper Dagens Nyheter. "But what generates electricity? Trauma is one cause long known to scientists. Injured tissues acquire an electric charge different from that in the surrounding tissue. There are other causes as well. If an electrode is attached to two similar muscles, one of which is tense, we see a difference in electric potential. But gradually the difference disappears, owing to what I call biologically closed electric circuits."

Professor Nordenström has managed both to prove the existence of such circuits in the human body theoretically and identify them clinically. The most important circuit is that formed by the blood vessels in which the conductor is the blood plasma. These "cables" are linked to intercellular fluid by capillaries.

In other words, the electric circuit in our body is similar to the batteries in a pocket torch. Of course, this is a very simplified version, and everything is much more complex in the human organism which we have yet to understand completely.

"My method is as follows," writes the professor. "If you attach one electrode to the tumour and the other to the vessel that supplies it with blood, a direct current may be set up between them. By varying it, considerable changes in the ions surrounding the tumour can be brought about. These changes are similar to those resulting from exposure to radioactive rays or chemotherapy—the traditional methods of treating cancer. In both cases we destroy the tissue around the stricken area."

What happens when the tumour is subjected to such an attack?

Negatively charged ions gather around the positive electrode linked to the tumour, and positively charged ions move towards the negative electrode. The white blood cells, which are crucial in the treatment of all kinds of wounds and injuries, head for the positive electrode, as they carry a negative charge. The charged immune bodies also begin to move, causing movement of the intercellular fluid in the area. A dry zone thus appears around the positive electrode, which kills the cancer cells.

This is a highly simplified description of the processes involved in Nordenström's method.

Another virtue of the method, writes Dagens Nyheter, is that it can be combined with the traditional methods of radiation, chemotherapy, hormone and other treatments. It is also very cheap.

Not all cancers respond equally well to this treatment. So far the professor has used it to treat cancer of the breast and lungs.

"Some tumours," he says, "are in general difficult to cure. They are not amendable to radiation or chemistry. But some others, considered incurable, suddenly disappear. We do not yet know why this happens. Perhaps we'll crack the mystery in the future and be able to tell which methods are effective against which tumours." The professor believes an important advantage of his method is that it obviates surgery which interrupts natural electrical circuits.

So, is this the long awaited victory over the sinister riddle of our century? Or is it just another short step in the battle against the disease doctors the world over have been fighting for many years? Or is it just a fortuity? Alas, such things happen in medicine, too.

DMITRY POGORZHELSKY
our special correspondent
Stockholm

From the editors: For opinions of Soviet experts on Professor Nordenström's method see p. 32.

The U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences awards its two Lomonosov Gold Medals annually, one to a Soviet, the other to a foreign scientist. The Presidium of the Academy has decided to award the 1986 medals to Prof. Svyatoslav Fyodorov, Corresponding Member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Medical Sciences, for outstanding achievements in ophthalmology and microsurgery, and to Acad. Josef Riman, President of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, for outstanding achievements in biochemistry.

No Progress Means Regress

People like him are called self-made men, as if talent is created exclusively by the individual's own effort. But even among self-made men Svyatoslav Fyodorov is unique. He is scientist, doctor, public figure, inventor, and administrator all in one. In short, he has more than enough skills for several lives. Though he does not hide his light under a bushel, and generously shares his gifts day after day, he has a quality that is definitely all his own. This is the god-given or acquired ability—after years of strenuous effort—to accomplish what he has set out to do. Despite or because of the circumstances, which—why hide it?—so often stood in his way, he always found a way of accomplishing his dream. He always visualized the end result of his efforts, which he saw as being of paramount importance, dismissing all the difficulties that cropped up along the way. This was clearly what helped him devise an artificial silicone crystalline lens, something many had attempted to do before him. The technique he has devised for grafting the crystalline lens has already been successfully applied in upwards of 30,000 cases.

So what do people mean by his outstanding services?

In 1984, the eyesight recovery line that he suggested was established for the first time at the Moscow Ophthalmic Microsurgery Research Institute, which he still heads today. This innovative "conveyer belt" surgery has increased tenfold the number of operations one eye surgeon can perform daily. It is now used to operate not only on cases of myopia, as at first, but also on cases of cataract and glaucoma.

However, Prof. Fyodorov believes kindness to be the most powerful instrument in the hands not only of doctors but of people generally. To be a really kind and wise doctor, Prof. Fyodorov undertook to create a scientific and technological complex, which will incorporate a dozen branches besides the Ophthalmic Microsurgery Research Institute. It is thus planned to boost the number of operations carried out annually to more than 200,000. The first three such branches, each to consist of an operating theatre and a 300-bed hospital, are to have opened in Leningrad, Krasnodar and Cheboksary by next November. The thirteen eyesight recovery lines will carry out annually as many operations as are now performed by almost all eye clinics in the Russian Federation.

"I would have never been able to accomplish my dream," Prof. Fyodorov says, "without the support of the wonderful colleagues and marvellous doctors at my institute." Today medicine is a collective effort, for which reason the distinguished ophthalmologist considers the Lomonosov Medal to have been awarded to the entire staff of this institute.

TATYANA FIRSOVA

For Science, For Life

Below Academician Josef Riman, President of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, answers our questions:

Q. The U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences has awarded you the Lomonosov Gold Medal. How did you receive the news?

A. With delight mixed with that special feeling of great moral responsibility for my scientific activities, which must be worthy of this high award. I regard the Lomonosov Medal for achievements in modern biology as a result of the efforts of the entire Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences.

Q. You are a member of the scientific council of the CMEA programme for combating fatal diseases. What do you see as the council's basic task?

A. This programme was adopted in 1973. Acad. Viliam Thurzo and I contributed to it and represented on it the interests of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. Our contribution at the time was to the concept and coordination of oncovirological research.

Q. In your capacity as director of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences Institute of Molecular Genetics, you pioneered new scientific departure, genetic engineering. How would you qualify the contribution of Czechoslovak scientists in this field?

A. The foundations of Czechoslovak genetic engineering were laid for the most part at the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences Institute of Molecular Genetics and Institute of Organic Chemistry and Biochemistry, the Slovak Academy of Sciences Institute of Molecular Biology and other establishments, as well as at institutions of higher education. In the past five-year period, we have synthesized the first ever gene for a pain-killing hormone.

Another great achievement was the isolation of the gene that codes the enzyme "chemosin" (which is used in cheese making) from the intestinal cells of calves and its transfer to bacterial cells.

Also over the past five-year period, a special team at the Institute of Molecular Genetics has succeeded in devising a standard technology for reproducing monoclonal antibodies. A series of special monoclonal antibodies for scientific purposes have also been produced. Incorporated in this programme was the development of substances for the diagnosis of farm crop immunity. These substances served, for instance, to detect the "leaf twister" virus, which inflicts such great damage on potato crops. In short, in Czechoslovakia genetic and cell engineering rest on a very reputable foundation. We seek to extend achievements in these fields to applied research and directly to production as such.

Interviewer:
VLADIMIR TRAVNICEK

What the Polls Have Revealed

Talk with VILEN ALAVIDZE, First Secretary of the Tbilisi Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia

A poll recently conducted in the United States showed that Americans trust TV commentators more than anyone else. Then come their wives (or husbands) and their car mechanics.

What matters to us here is not that most Americans have more trust in TV commentators than in their spouses—it's a personal matter or perhaps a national trait. We were most surprised and interested to learn that they also have absolute confidence in their car mechanics. Why?

It was with this question that our talk with Vilen Alavidze began. The question was not a gimmick, however. Having your car serviced is still a problem in our country, and for this reason the Party committee's desire to include the question of the Tbilisi car repair service in a recent sociological study was not surprising.

Exact Knowledge, Not Guesswork

It was obvious even without a poll that there is considerable malpractice in the car servicing business. So was there any need to stir up passions once again? Vilen Alavidze was sure that this was absolutely essential.

"The most painful, difficult issues should be thrashed out in the open," he said. "There will be no real democracy for as long as somebody can decide what to discuss and what not to. We all have to get accustomed to the new ways of doing things. As Mikhail Gorbachev aptly observed, we must learn to work with democracy."

"But let us return to the car repair service. The poll you carried out showed that car repairmen do not enjoy a good reputation in our country. Yet this is a whole section of the working class. No one thinks that all of them are dishonest people. The reason, I'm sure, lies elsewhere—in the shortage of spare parts, the workers' skills, the organization of work...."

"We are continuing to analyze the data. But it will take a long time to find solutions. One thing is clear, however: the economic conditions of work in this service need to be changed drastically, for at present there is no incentive to work properly. You asked me whether the poll was carried out to prove what is already obvious. Sociological studies are no use to us if we only call some executives to account and appoint new people instead of them. They are useful because we want to improve the situation radically. This can be achieved if we rely firmly on the majority. For this purpose we should not simply guess, but know exactly what people think. By the way, the poll you mentioned dealt not only with car servicing but also with trade and public services generally. It was the respondents who picked out car servicing for particular criticism. True, other services were criticized too, though their ratings were slightly better."

State Quality Control: Difficult Questions

"Let us talk about the state quality control introduced at industrial plants in Tbilisi. How did the workers accept it? Did the opinion of the majority coincide with that of plant managers who, as far as I remember, were fairly optimistic about the new quality checking system?"

"I regret to say that opinions varied on this point," Vilen Alavidze replied, "and this again shows that public opinion should be constantly studied and taken into account. At 11 plants in Tbilisi, polls were held three times—last November and December and in January of this year. They revealed how the attitudes of personnel have changed.

"The idea of state quality control itself was not questioned at any of the three polls. It is obviously so necessary and useful that virtually no one objects to it. The point is whether the personnel are satisfied with the way state quality control was introduced at their respective enterprises.

"There were some surprises, too. For instance, the Kirov machine tool plant had not only the highest percentage of people satisfied with state quality control but also the highest percentage of people (38) who thought the situation at their plant was good and the lowest percentage (0.5) of people who thought it was extremely unsatisfactory. That seemed good, of course. But what we know now is that the plant turns out machines of poor quality while its personnel, and especially managers, are complacent and not greatly concerned about the future.

"State quality inspectors accept only products that are in line with current specifications. Everything has proved to be more complicated than some imagined, in view of the low technical standards of production, the poor organization of work, the imperfect remuneration system, and the failure of suppliers to keep their commitments.

"Most workers, engineers, technicians and managers questioned in the poll pointed in the first place to the low technical standards of production. There were, however, nuances on other questions. The workers drew particular attention to the pay system, and the engineers and technicians, to the organization of work, while the managers blamed the suppliers. The questions of pay and organization of work can be settled at a given plant, whereas the supply of raw materials or components depends on others. This is no fortuity, for it reveals a lack of real independence and responsibility of managers, who are adapting slowly to the new situation."

"Perhaps it's also important how state quality control operates and what mistakes inspectors made?"

"One of the goals of the sociological study was to clarify this. About half the people questioned in the poll said the state inspectors merely exercise strict control over quality, while 47 per cent pointed out that state quality control helps to bring out and remove defects. The professional competence of state quality control executives was rated as excellent by only 13.2 per cent, as good by 31.3 per cent, satisfactory by 33.9 per cent, and bad by 3.1 per cent of those polled. The rest found it difficult to give any rating. It is interesting that the quality of work of deputy managers was rated much lower."

"Will not such ratings damage the reputation of the executives concerned?"

"Certainly," Vilen Alavidze replied. "We are beginning to elect managers, and those whose work was rated as bad or satisfactory will therefore not be elected."

Personal Qualities of a Manager

"You know, not a few people opposed the open discussion of the personal qualities of executives. Here is the questionnaire for one of our polls asking people to say what they think about city or district administrators, specifically, about their business efficiency, ability to advance or support progressive ideas, initiative and sensitivity to the new, their overall standards of education and world outlook, attitudes to citizens and their needs, life styles, behaviour in the family and in public, fidelity to principle, integrity, fairness, personal commitment to the campaign against negative factors, prestige among the population, and the life styles of the members of their families.

"But surely only an ideal man would get high ratings on all these points?"

"As far as I know, no one got only high ratings. However, administrators and managers learned exactly how their fellow citizens see them—not at meetings, from the rostrum or in the office, where people do not yet always tell the boss what they think about him, but in the form which everyone fills out

in private, alone with his or her conscience."

"How do you assess the results of the poll overall?"

"Our citizens have drawn fair conclusions by supporting good, honest and sensible people and denying confidence to poseurs, unscrupulous people, secret opponents of restructuring."

"But democracy does not only mean an opportunity for citizens to speak their minds. It's important to know that your opinion will be heeded and considered, and conclusions be made."

"Yes. That's why a form circulated during the poll organized last year by the public opinion research centre under the auspices of the Georgian Communist Party's Central Committee included 500 questions. All the forms received were processed by electronic computers with the result that we learned the opinion of the majority on each question posed, what aspects of private and public life worry people most, to what extent people are satisfied with their lives, how objectively their complaints are examined.

"This tremendous work was not undertaken for the sake of formal reporting," Vilen Alavidze went on. "We got first-hand knowledge of what ordinary people are most concerned about. Isn't that the first duty of the Party and the Soviets?"

"A campaign against negative factors is being conducted in Georgia as elsewhere in our country. What does the public think about the results?"

"Extensive research was carried out on this question a while ago. On the whole, the public believes that the campaign against negative factors has been stepped up in the past few years, and the scale of profiteering and bribe-taking, for instance, has reduced. Only eight of every 100 people polled thought that this campaign had slackened.

"The results seem clear. But only 23 per cent of those questioned were satisfied; 25 per cent were not satisfied, while the others were not certain or avoided answering the question in general. These figures cannot but arouse deep concern."

"I saw the form and distinctly remember the following question in it: has life become easier or harder for honest people? What were the answers?"

"Some people think life for honest people has become more difficult."

"Do you agree with them?"

"It is difficult to give a simple answer," Vilen Alavidze said. "Changes for the better are evident, and the people have noticed them, as can be seen from the results of the polls. But the old, harmful practices are not disappearing by themselves. The demands made by the public on the campaign against negative factors are growing faster than the campaign itself. Those who stand in the van of the drive for change, and accelerated social and economic development at their plants, collective farms and institutes, have assumed a heavy burden and set themselves high standards. It is they who have started restructuring, and they are therefore having it hardest.

"One more thing. The Party has given a powerful impetus to criticism and is encouraging critical attitudes in society. As a result, what was quite natural only a few years ago is today fiercely rejected by the working people."

Should the First Impression Be Trusted?

Some warn against believing first impressions because they might be good ones. The same could happen with the study and consideration of public opinion. Being very attractive, the reforms could entail problems we are unable to cope with.

"The Party's policy of extending democracy in all spheres of life is a strategy and, simultaneously, a lever for tackling concrete issues. However difficult it may be, we shall not be deflected from this path. And then, it is not that we have more difficulties now, but that we are talking about them more openly than before. The more successfully we overcome these difficulties, the more people will consciously take part in this work."

"Mikhail Gorbachev stressed that our country is facing a difficult 12th five-year-plan period. You often meet with work collectives and talk with people. Do you think they are ready to overcome the difficulties?"

"I'm sure they are. But if something goes wrong, we shall bear the responsibility, and no one else. Everything will be decided by the people and the leaders they elect. The time when managers were appointed and the personnel formally approved the appointment is fast receding. The people really will elect their leaders themselves. They will demand practical results from the leaders and help them get such results. This is a tremendous force, and it is mainly on this force that the idea of readjustment and faster progress relies."

"Let us return to the car servicing with which we began our conversation. Do you think the time will come when people stop criticizing it?"

"It's still a valid question. We have tried almost everything: large car-care centres have been built, collective responsibility for car repair and a triple system of control have been introduced. Since I'm not an expert in this field, I can't suggest concrete measures. We must talk things over with other people. But I'm sure that as long as the motorist treats the car mechanic as if he were a dispenser of favours, the mechanic will dictate his terms, and our efforts will fail. So far we have been trying to find a technical solution to this problem. But I'm sure that we'll find a solution by economic means. By extending paid services at enterprises and using individual and collective forms of work organization, we shall draw honest people who will honestly earn their pay into this line of business."

Interviewer:
ALEXANDER GUBER

State quality control was introduced at the electric locomotive building works in Tbilisi as of January. Below: the first electric locomotive of the modernized VL-11 series has passed inspection.

Why has not Klaus Barbie, the nazi war criminal, been brought to trial yet, many readers ask. The answer will be found in the following dispatch sent by our special correspondent Lev Bezymensky from Paris.

The Third Life of the Butcher of Lyons

He has quite decent living quarters: bedroom, dining room, study, and of course bathroom. He has a television set and a library of mainly ancient Greek literature, Homer, reportedly, being his favourite author. There is a separate room for his guard. He has frequent meetings with his defence counsel and with relatives. And regular medical examinations.

These are the conditions in which nazi war criminal Klaus Barbie, former chief of the 4th division of the SS security service in occupied Lyons, lives today in the Saint-Joseph prison in that city, where he has been held since 1983 awaiting trial. Klaus Barbie, the man who is deservedly known as the butcher of Lyons.

Klaus Barbie has already lived two lives. The first, the life of a nazi, a professional SS killer. That life ended in the spring of 1945 with the collapse of Hitler's Reich. The second, the life of an American agent, later of a police adviser to Bolivian dictators, which ended in 1983. It was then that Barbie found himself in the Montluc prison in Lyons, the very prison where he had tortured his victims. True, before long he was transferred to the Saint-Joseph prison—it is easier here to protect the criminal from the bullets of some desperate avenger. To prevent any such disaster from happening, a bullet-proof shield was installed over the windows. The Lyons legal authorities proceeded to prepare the indictment. Retribution seemed to be at hand.

However, years have passed and the third life of the man whose name is uttered with revulsion and wrath by thousands of French people continues. The trial has been postponed from month to month. Either owing to the "state of health" of the accused, or for some other reasons incomprehensible to most.

When I arrived in Paris and began collecting data on this subject of interest to our readers, the Paris press carried another crop of reports about Barbie. They sounded very much like bulletins on the health of some dignitary: Barbie's condition was deteriorating... the patient had been examined by professors so-and-so... he had been moved to such-and-such a hospital... some sort of an operation was being considered... specialists were of the opinion that....

"Prisoners in the Montluc jail were treated a bit differently," a former prominent member of the Resistance bitterly observed.

I was reminded of another prisoner who has long been the object of touching concern on the part of some Western media—Rudolf Hess. I once had occasion to see a film which, despite all the proscriptions, was made in Spandau prison. It showed Hitler's one-time deputy comfortably installed in quarters in no way suggestive of a prison. Of course, there are a great many differences between the prisoner confined in Spandau and the one in Saint-Joseph. But the main difference is that Hess was sentenced once and for all at Nuremberg, while Barbie has yet to be brought before a court. Why?

Standards and Forms

I climbed the marble staircase at No. 32 rue La Boétie and rang the bell. The door was opened by a woman whose face seemed vaguely familiar. But, of course! It was Beate Klarsfeld, who in 1971 was the first to chance on the tracks of Barbie and set out in search of the criminal. Her husband, Serge Klarsfeld, is one of the 35 lawyers who are to take part in the trial of Barbie. That is why I thought it appropriate to ask him the question that interested me. His answer at first surprised me.

"Why so long? There is nothing unusual about that. You see, France has no previous experience in the application of the 1964 law on the punishment of crimes against humanity. The definition of such crimes given in Nuremberg was too general and had to be clarified. The Lyons judge Christian Riss, who drew up the indictment, is a young man who has no wartime experience. He needed time to get down to the substance of the case. Besides which, as you doubtless know, Barbie was tried in absentia for his war crimes in 1952 and 1954. He cannot, of course, be charged again with the same crimes. The more so since, according to French laws, war crimes come under the statute of limitations."

"Does that mean that Barbie cannot be tried in general?"

"Not at all. He can be tried for crimes against humanity. Judge Riss found evidence of Barbie's guilt on only three counts, all connected with the deportation and killing of Jews. But numerous Resistance organizations did not agree with such a limited interpretation and filed a complaint against the indictment."

A somewhat different explanation of the delay in the trial is given by Joe Nordmann, counsel in the Barbie case for the federation of veterans and victims of the war and former inmates of concentration camps. I interviewed him the following day at his office on the Seine embankment.

"I wouldn't say there is nothing unusual about the delay," the well-known French lawyer said. "The delay is not normal. It is, rather, semi-normal."

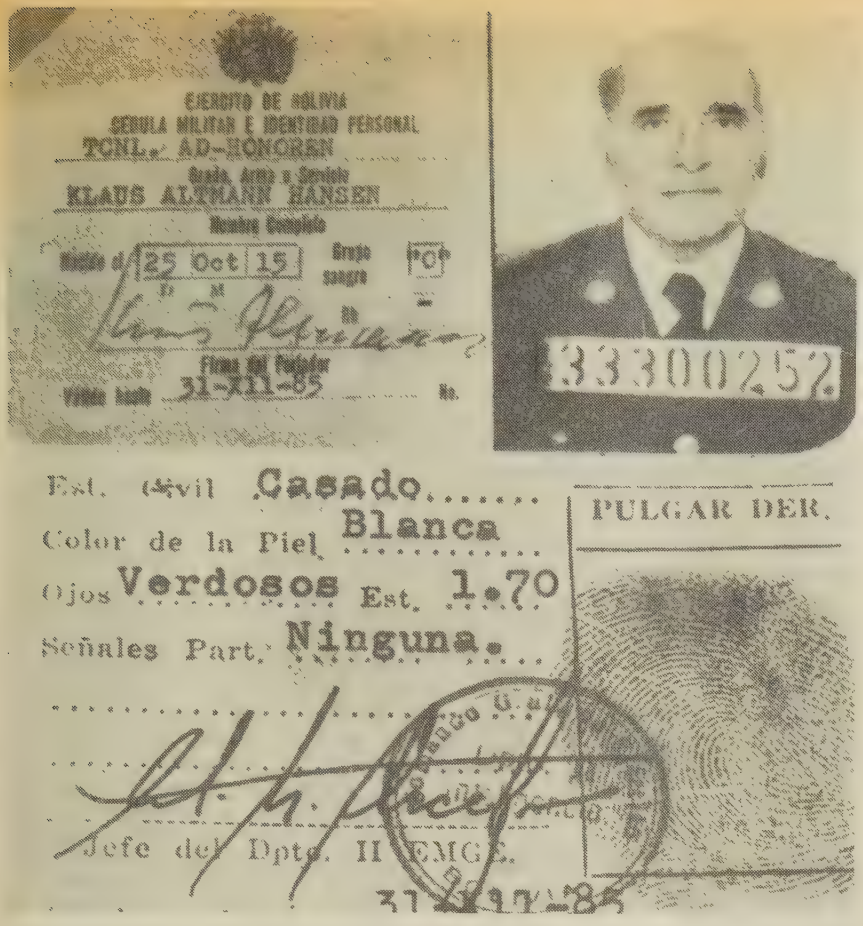
"What do you mean by that?"

"The trial could and should have been prepared in advance. After all, France had for a long time demanded the extradition of Barbie and it might have been assumed that eventually the courts would have to deal with the case. I might add that in 1983, when the Lyons judge was assigned to drawing up the indictment, he had not been relieved of other cases he was involved in at the time and hence was unable to devote himself exclusively to the Barbie case."

"So it is a matter of procedure?"

"Not altogether. When the members of the Resistance learned that Barbie was to be tried not for his war crimes but on the basis of some facts connected with the persecution of the Jews, they protested. They could not agree to Barbie's monstrous crimes in Lyons being automatically excluded from the case as not belonging to the category of crimes against humanity."

A complicated legal battle ensued. Ten different Resistance organizations taking part in the trial as civil plaintiffs, as well as an individual plaintiff Lise Lesèvre, one of Barbie's victims, filed a complaint with the Lyons Court of Appeals against the first text of the indictment. "Jews and people of other



The identity card issued by the Bolivian military department to "honorary Lieutenant Colonel Klaus Altmann Hansen."

nationalities, members and non-members of the Resistance were sent to the death camps in the same railway cars," one of the lawyers observed. "How, then, can any distinction be drawn today between the degree of gravity of these crimes?" Nevertheless in October 1985 the court turned down the appeal, after which the case was referred to Paris.

On December 20, 1985, the Court of Cassation handed down a decision of what might be called fundamental importance. Crimes against humanity were defined as "acts of inhumanity and persecution which are committed in the name of a state that pursues a policy of ideological hegemony and which are perpetrated systematically not only against individuals for belonging to some racial or religious group, but also against those who offer resistance to that policy, whatever form that resistance might take."

"That was a just decision which accords with the spirit of Nuremberg judgement," Pierre Durand, chairman of the International Buchenwald-Dora Committee, told me. "It makes possible the due conduct of the Lyons trial!"

On the basis of the Paris decision, the indictment was returned to Lyons for further investigation, and in April 1986 the amended and supplemented version was presented to Barbie.

"We wanted a just trial, and not a hasty one," was how that stage in the preparations for the trial was summed up by Maître Nordmann.

This cleared the way for the trial. The Lyons Palais de Justice began to prepare for it with all speed. Since none of its courtrooms was large enough to hold all those who would wish to attend, it was decided to adapt for the purpose the large vestibule known as "the hall of lost steps."

Was I to hurry to Lyons, then? My Parisian colleagues advised against it. However, I had a different and unexpected opportunity to see Lyons and all the other places connected with Barbie.

The Scene of the Crime

Ladislas de Hoyos is well known in the journalistic world of Paris. For many years a member of the staff of the newspaper France-Soir, and later, a reporter and editor on Channel 1 of French television, he may rightly be regarded as an expert on the Barbie case. If Beate Klarsfeld was the first to trace Barbie, de Hoyos was the first to interview him on television. That was in February 1972 in La Paz when Barbie still posed as a Bolivian businessman under the name of Klaus Altmann Hansen.

Recalling that interview de Hoyos smiled.

"Barbie was so confident of his immunity that he behaved rather incautiously. At first he averred that he did not understand French and the interview began in Spanish and German. But when I casually asked him in French whether he had ever been in Lyons, he burst out instantly in German 'No, never!' Then he caught himself, but it was too late. Nevertheless even after this slip the butcher of Lyons continued to deny the obvious.

"'I am not Klaus Barbie, I am Klaus Altmann Hansen,' he declared looking straight into the camera."

I saw that sequence at the Paris TV studios in de Hoyos' remarkably powerful film, "Klaus Barbie." Shown early last year on television, with tremendous success, it gives an impressive picture of who Barbie was and what nazi domination of France was like. No less, if not more impressive than any formal indictment.

I had indeed no need to go to Lyons. For who could have given me a better idea of the former Gestapo dungeons than Raymond Aubrac and Frédéric Dugoujon whom de Hoyos had filmed as, with the heavy step of old, sick men, they walked through the cellars where they had been tortured? Who better than Aubrac could have described the circumstances of the arrest of one of Barbie's victims—the legendary Resistance hero Jean Moulin? With the help of eyewitness Aubrac, the film reproduces that tragic event minute by minute.

Then come a few terrifying sequences of occupied Lyons. Towns and villages where Barbie and his men ran amok. A house in the village of Izieu from where children were taken away to their death. Graves. Common graves.

The camera slowly scans a stone wall with marble memorial plaques bearing the names of the victims of nazism. Suddenly, among the French names I read a Russian name: "Alexis Shaposhnikov, died August 1944." Those painful reminders of the past.

And then, the present. Ladislas de Hoyos and his movie team in the F.R.G. Here he found one of Barbie's assistants, Erich Bartelmus. A former SS man, he had taken part in the execution of five patriots on Place Bellecour in Lyons. Now he is a respectable burgher. Executions in Lyons? Nothing to do with me. Torture? He laughs: "You have no witnesses, have you?"

Bartelmus does not want to talk about the past. He does not allow the reporter to enter his house. He stands in the shadow of the doorway. To get a picture of his face, one has to resort to a ruse. The cameraman suddenly falls.

Bartelmus looks out of the doorway to see what happened. That is all the cameraman needs to photograph his flabby, vicious face.

Agent X-3054

A good part of the two-hour film "Klaus Barbie" and also a part of de Hoyos' book of the same name are devoted to a chapter in the war criminal's life which is hardly likely to find reflection in the indictment drawn up in Lyons. Without that chapter it is difficult to appreciate the full significance of the trial that has so long been in preparation.

On the screen we see an elderly man named Eugene Kolb. A former officer of the U.S. Army's Counter-intelligence Corps, he directed Barbie's espionage activity after the former Hauptsturmfuehrer SS had been enrolled in American service. Why?

"He was a good professional," is the answer.

How did the employment of Barbie accord with moral principles, another U.S. CIC man, Herbert Bechtold, is asked in the film.

"Who knows best what morality is," Bechtold parries. "After all, we got information from him about the Communists."

"Did you know about the torture he was involved in?"

They knew. Nevertheless they saved Barbie. Much has been written about the butcher of Lyons in recent years. Books on the subject have appeared in France, the United States, Britain and in our own country. Serge Klarsfeld showed the latest. One of them, published in the United States, bore the symbolic title: "Nazi Legacy. Barbie and International Fascist Connections." And quite recently, a book by the historian Guy Morell appeared in France.

From these studies one could compile something like an "encyclopedia of betrayal" by the U.S. authorities of the sacred obligation they undertook during the years of the great battle against nazism. The names of the U.S. officials—from rank-and-file reconnaissance men to High Commissioner John McCloy—who sheltered Barbie and his ilk are known. Incidentally, Ladislas Hoyos found his number in the espionage file X-3054.

But is Barbie the only one of his kind the U.S. special services took under their wing? The International Herald Tribune once reported that the CIA had used the services of no less than 22 war criminals, among whom were not only SS hangmen like the butcher of Lyons, but also generals (Gehlen) and other bigtime secret service operators (von Bolschwing). The reward was "remission of their sins."

For example, when Edgars Laipenieks, who had committed heinous crimes on the territory of Soviet Latvia, was tracked down in the United States, he showed newsmen from the Evening Tribune a letter from the CIA dated July 20, 1976, thanking him for his "past" assistance to the agency. CIA spokesmen confirmed that Laipenieks had been recruited in Rome in 1960, then transferred to Chile and later to the United States from where he had gone on several spy missions to collect information about Soviet defences.

Here is another new fact. Until now it had been assumed that the CIC had picked up Barbie off the street, so to speak. But in late January 1987 the British press published reports about declassified documents of the postwar period from which it transpired that before entering U.S. service, Barbie had been an agent of the British MI-6 counterespionage outfit from 1945 to 1947.

Documents also have been found which give an unflattering picture of the position taken by French intelligence. It turns out that while the judicial authorities were searching for Barbie, his exact whereabouts and occupation were well known to the French secret services. Yet they kept silent because the Americans insisted on it "in the interests of U.S. national security." Meanwhile Barbie collected information for the Americans about the situation in the French zone of occupation.

The Past Four Years

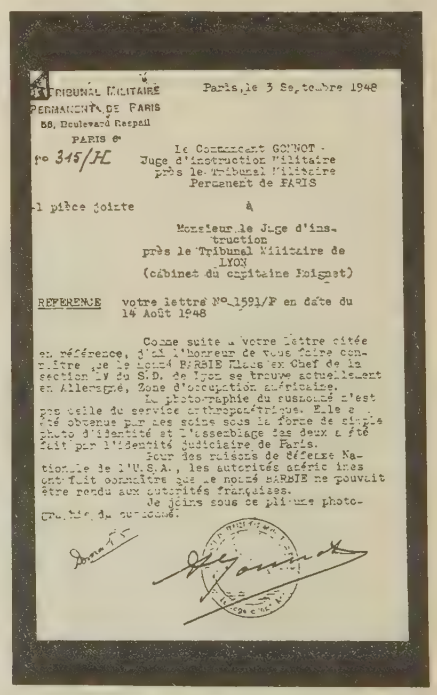
Klaus Barbie's second life, as we have said, ended in 1983. It cannot be said that this fact had no political repercussions. World public opinion has become more intolerant of any instances of sheltering nazi criminals. For example, in Canada a special commission was set up to investigate facts pointing to the pesence of former nazis in that country. In the United States itself it was no longer possible to ignore the public protest against the harbouring of criminals: after a long delay, Andrija Artukovic, the "Balkan Himmler," was finally extradited to Yugoslavia. Several former killers were expelled from the United States, including Fyodor Fedorenko who was deported to the Soviet Union, where at a public trial in Simferopol he was exposed and sentenced to death.

I learned some new details about the behaviour of the American authorities from Charles Allen, Jr., a prominent expert and author of a number of books about former nazis. He recently completed a unique reference book in which are listed in alphabetical order the names of all the former nazi criminals who have taken cover in the United States and other Western countries.

"After the Barbie affair," he told me, "it was no longer possible to deny that nazi criminals had been sheltered in the United States. But so far there has been little progress in this matter. As before, legal proceedings to deprive them of American citizenship drag out interminably. Even if such a ruling is handed down there is no guarantee that it will be carried out and the individuals concerned will be deported. Not to speak of other penalties."

Here are two examples. The first concerns war criminal Bogdan Kozy. After court hearings that took many years he was deprived of his American citizenship (for concealing his past when applying for naturalization). Kozy then went to Costa Rica where at the beginning of 1985 he settled in the guise of an Italian businessman. The camouflage did not work. In March 1986 the U.S.S.R. asked for his extradition. More litigation ensued. Although the Costa Rican Prosecutor General's department declared that "Kozy has no moral right to reside in this country," the Ministry of Foreign Affairs found that the extradition request did not meet ."formal requirements." The case went before a court which turned down the Soviet request, again on technical grounds. At present an appeal filed by the Soviet side is being considered.

The second instance is the case of Ivan Demyanyuk, a former guard at the Treblinka concentration camp. After protracted legal proceedings he was deported from the U.S.A. in February 1986 for violation of immigration laws. He was handed over to Israel where he was put on trial. The trial began in



TRIBUNAL MILITAIRE PERMANENT DE PARIS
58, Boulevard Raspail
PARIS 6e

Paris, le 3 Septembre 1948

N° 345/JC

Le Commandant GUINOT
Juge d'instruction Militaire
près le Tribunal Militaire
Permanent de PARIS

1 pièce jointe

à

Monsieur le Juge d'instruction
près le Tribunal Militaire de
LYON
(cabinet du capitaine Boignet)

REFERENCE votre lettre N° 1591/F en date du 14 Août 1948

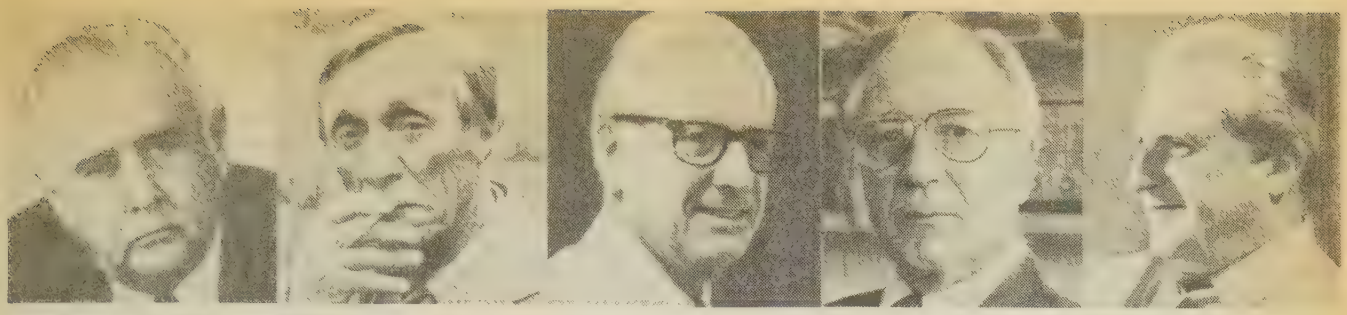
Comme suite à votre lettre citée en référence, j'ai l'honneur de vous faire connaître que le nommé BARBIE Klaus ex Chef de la section SD de Lyon se trouve actuellement en Allemagne, Zone d'occupation américaine.

La photographie du ressemble n'est pas celle du service anthropométrique. Elle a été obtenue par les soins sous la forme de simple photo d'identité et l'assemblage des deux a été fait par l'identité judiciaire de Paris.

Pour des raisons de défense Nationale de l'U.S.A., les autorités américaines ont fait connaître que le nommé BARBIE ne pouvait être rendu aux autorités françaises.

Je joins sous ce pli une photo-graphie du susnommé.

The French authorities knew Barbie was in American hands—as evidenced by the document reproduced above.



U.S. intelligence officers Earl Browning, Eugene Kolb, Dale Garvey, Erhard Dabringhaus, and Herbert Bechtold provided cover for the butcher.

November but was immediately postponed. Demyanyuk declared it a case of "mistaken identity." At the same time a clamour was raised in the United States by émigré nationalist circles who depicted the lawful prosecution of a criminal as Moscow-inspired intrigue. The hearings have only now been resumed.

It is clearly becoming increasingly difficult to ignore the continued sheltering in a number of Western countries of former nazis whose war crimes have remained unpunished. At the end of last year a Los Angeles centre for the tracing of war criminals submitted to the governments of Britain, Sweden, Canada, Australia and some other countries concrete evidence of the guilt of such criminals—17 residing in Britain, 13 in Sweden, 50 in Australia, 26 in Canada, 3 in Venezuela and one in Brazil. But the longest list, of 74 names, was presented early this year to the U.S. authorities.

When I was preparing for one of my Paris interviews, a TASS correspondent showed me a copy of the latest issue of Le Matin which carried a report from London that several names from the Los Angeles list had come to the knowledge of the local press. Among them were Stanislav Zvarich and Antanas Gecas.

Who are they? On returning to Moscow I made inquiries at the U.S.S.R. Procurator's Office. Both names were well known there. Stanislav Zvarich had been a policeman under nazi rule in Volyn Region. Materials exposing him as a killer, including evidence of his participation in the execution of 40 persons, had been given to British legal authorities as far back as May 1972. But the Soviet Union's request for his extradition was turned down. Also known are the crimes of Gecas (his full name is Gecevicius) who, as commander of a punitive detachment in Lithuania, committed atrocities for which the nazis awarded him an Iron Cross.

The Los Angeles centre sent a special letter to the F.R.G. addressed personally to Helmut Kohl and listing 44 names. "The biological clock on nazi criminals is running out," it said, "and the record of history should not read that those who took part in those horrible crimes had the final victory by depriving justice of its due course."

Unfortunately, the record of the F.R.G. judicial bodies does not hold out much hope of this warning being heeded. Time is passing, and although it is more than 40 years since the defeat of the nazi Reich, more than a thousand war crimes cases still remain open. At present a new wave of "ideological" rehabilitation of the nazi past is sweeping the country. And Chancellor Kohl has chosen this time to appeal to the heads of the governments of the U.S., Britain, the U.S.S.R. and France for the release of Rudolf Hess, calling upon the four victor-powers to display "humaneness." Humaneness towards Hitler's deputy, one of the main war criminals!

The Debate Continues

In the course of one heated discussion in the F.R.G. on the occasion of the anniversary of the Nuremberg trial I heard this question asked: "Why are you harping on Barbie? He was not such a prominent figure in the nazi camp, not a Bormann or a Hess."

True enough, he was only a Hauptsturmfuehrer (captain) and he operated in only one city. However, such figures too sometimes acquire a symbolic significance. And not least of all because Klaus Barbie represents a type of unrepentant and incorrigible nazi. He himself has said that if he were given a chance to begin all over again he would choose the same road (note the amazing similarity to Rudolf Hess's last word at the Nuremberg trial). No, Barbie repents nothing.

There has been no little discussion of the Barbie case among the French public. It is widely held that many do not relish the prospect of the coming trial. Who exactly? It goes without saying that the least interested in the trial are the American special services for which the former SS man worked for so long. In this connection a truly incredible rumour has been circulated: that Barbie had contacted U.S. intelligence not in 1947, but during the war; consequently, in Lyons he was all but a Resistance fighter, performing his Gestapo functions merely as a cover, and for this he cannot be called to account.

Far more insidious than this cock-and-bull story are the attempts being made to compromise the Resistance movement. This is being done by Barbie's defence counsel Jacques Vergès who holds out the threat of certain "revelations" his client could make. This might impress some people. Ex-minister André Jarrot observed quite recently: "It was a mistake to have brought Barbie to France. Better to have let him die in peace in Bolivia."

But far more loudly heard are the voices insisting that the trial be held. Without fail!

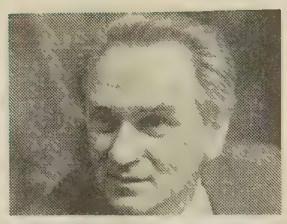
"The trial must take place," Pierre Durand said to me in parting. "We insist on this, however much some quaters would like the Barbie affair to be relegated to oblivion. The trial will shed light on the entire monstrous system of nazi domination and not merely on some of the infamies perpetrated by the butcher. We are prompted not by vengeance but by a sense of justice. That is one of the reasons why we want the trial to be held as soon as possible. Another reason is that we want the young generation to know what nazism, which is now being whitewashed, is really like."

* * *

Until quite recently it was believed that the trial would take place in April or May this year. When the reports on the medical examinations of Barbie, I mentioned above, appeared the talk was of May or June. On February 5 France-Presse reported that Barbie had undergone an operation in a Lyons hospital (his second operation in prison). "My client," Vergès said, "is very tired." It has now been confirmed that the trial will begin in May. And indeed, how much longer can the "third life" of the butcher of Lyons go on?

Paris—Moscow

Interrobot: Initial Steps



Robots have aroused more controversy than any other development in technology. Their failure to bring about the breakthrough expected of them in production has cooled many robotics enthusiasts off. Some have even come to deny the usefulness of robots altogether. Nevertheless, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance decided, at its 41st session in late 1985, to establish the Interrobot international research and production amalgamation. IGOR ORDINARTSEV, first deputy Minister of the Machine and Tool-Making Industry of the U.S.S.R., and VITALI TSARENKO, chairman of the board of Interrobot, discuss the problems facing the amalgamation in the following interview to journalist Yuri Samoilov, Cand. Sc. (Tech.).

The French weekly Le Nouvel Observateur points out that in 1985 demand for industrial robots on the world market was 50 per cent up on the 1984 figure, while in 1986 it was only 5 per cent more than in 1985. Many computer manufacturers have sustained losses. How would you explain this decline?

I. Ordinartsev: Today the world is taking a more sober view of the potential of industrial robots and, more importantly, of the principles underlying their utilization.

A robot is not a TV set where you merely push a button to switch it on. A robot must be adjusted to — or "mated with," to use a technical term— a certain type of a machine tool. And this is no easy matter. This is why the emphasis is now on introducing the so-called robotic complexes, or flexible production modules, each comprising a machine tool and a robot. Incidentally, these modules can be put together to make up flexible production systems.

V. Tsarenko: There are several reasons for this plummeting in demand. Firstly, most prospective users are inadequately informed about the capabilities of industrial robots; secondly, robots are rather expensive and take some time to pay for themselves; and thirdly, putting a robot to industrial use usually involves several readjustments on the factory floor. Last but not least, many flexible production systems (comprising a machine tool, a conveyance facility and a control system) can do perfectly well with simpler and cheaper means of positioning components on a machine tool.

Don't you think that such a reduction in demand for robots will tell on the activity of Interrobot?

V. Tsarenko: No, it won't. This reduction is temporary. There'll be an ever greater need for robots and robotic complexes all over the world.

I. Ordinartsev: We get many orders for robotic systems and individual robots from various industries in the U.S.S.R. The same is true of other CMEA countries. The point is that robots can take over monotonous, tiring, hazardous and night-time jobs. Therefore, Interrobot is a very useful organization, and every effort must be made to promote its work.

What was the Soviet Union's objective in helping establish Interrobot?

I. Ordinartsev: Robotics engenders a whole complex of scientific and technical problems which even a large country like the U.S.S.R. can hardly cope with on its own. The solution of these problems lies in the international division of labour and standardization.

Does this mean that the U.S.S.R. is lagging behind other industrialized countries in developing robots that measure up to the highest world standards?

I. Ordinartsev: To a certain extent it does. The range of robots we produce falls short of that available on the world market, and the quality of our robots leaves much to be desired as compared with the best foreign makes.

Moreover, the very pattern of our robot output, and the relative quantities of the types we produce are wrong. Specifically, we make too few of the so-called industrial robots, i.e., those intended for painting, welding and assembly jobs, and too many service robots, which can be used only as complements to industrial equipment.

The problem now is not only to extend the range of the robots we make, but also to standardize them, i.e., to make them cheaper. This will make them applicable to a wider variety of uses.

How are you going to achieve this?

I. Ordinartsev: By making new robots of standardized and modular designs. The robots' "hands," "joints," drives, transmissions and controls are to be standardized so that they can perform different operations. Instead of highly specialized robots, we shall concentrate on making individual structural elements, or "building blocks," which can be assembled into multipurpose robots. If we succeed in rectifying CMEA standards and bringing them into conformity with international ones, we shall achieve better international standardization.

V. Tsarenko: Our prime task is to improve the quality and enhance the reliability of the robots and of all their components. An international centre is being set up within the framework of Interrobot for the purpose, whose chief function will be to test robots. If a model fails to conform to a specific technical standard, it will be returned to the manufacturer. This practice spares numerous robot users the need to do their own testing.

These are splendid plans, but are you sure they'll be carried out? This isn't the first time that the desire to make better robots is proclaimed.

V. Tsarenko: The January 1987 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee pointed out that our research and development efforts failed to meet the requirements of the national economy. Some R&D bodies were concentrating on modifying the models already in use rather than creating entirely new ones. Is it any wonder therefore that even our so-called "new" equipment often failed to compete on the world market? In developing machines—robots in particular—today, we seek to match the international standards. Can we do so? The record of our brilliant achievement in aircraft and rocket construction and in other fields makes us certain that we can do no worse in robotics very soon.

At all the robot-equipped factories I have visited, operatives complain of the slowness, inadequate precision, low interference resistance and unreliability of their steel helpers. Moreover, robots are fairly expensive. The question arises: wouldn't it be better to stop making such robots and concentrate on developing better models!

I. Ordinartsev: I don't altogether agree. How can we make further progress without producing and using robotic complexes on a sufficiently wide scale? After all, you can't learn to drive a car without actually doing so, albeit inexpertly at first. It may be that the complexes are far from perfect in the early stages. What matters is to gain experience in handling these complex machines, which call for considerable readjustments in manufacturing patterns. The robot is to become as common a means of industrial production as the machine tool is today. It is also bound to find its way into classrooms at all higher and secondary technical schools.

Technological progress and the improvement of equipment operation techniques are two mutually complementary and interdependent processes.

Separate "service" robots not teamed up with machine tools, presses or other items of industrial equipment are another matter. Their output must indeed be reduced radically because they are not of much use except as fashionable attributes of progress; more often than not they are brought onto the factory floor by an error in planning.

This brings to mind the fate of the plastic heart which has been given up as a bad job after a number of implantation failures. Efforts are now being made to design a more reliable artificial heart. In the meantime, heart cases are being kept alive by substituting artificial valves for their worn-out ones and by heart transplants. Couldn't the same tactic be adopted in automating industrial production by using cheaper and more reliable substitutes for the expensive, complex and clumsy jumbo robots one sometimes sees on the factory floor today! I wonder how many kindergartens and homes could have been built instead of the tens of thousands of primitive robots we have produced over the past 10-15 years, and how much more it will still cost us to overcome this mental inertia! As you certainly know, robots often bring factories nothing but losses.

I. Ordinartsev: To draw another parallel with a TV set—why buy a model on sale today if a more reliable and compact one is coming tomorrow?

This, however, is not the approach to be taken to technological progress. One can wait forever for an ideal product. Robotics is a major trend in economic advance, and we must promote it in every way for our own good. You don't instal new-generation equipment simply to follow the fashion, you do it for economic reasons. The surest way to discredit any technical innovation or any new form of work organization is to misuse it. Factory managers should find the space for and decide on the most rewarding use of robots before, and not after, buying this very expensive equipment. If a robot works only intermittently rather than a six-day week on a two- or three-shift basis, it will never pay its way.

Although man is incomparably more intelligent and adaptable than a robot, it wouldn't occur to anyone to entrust the operation of a sophisticated machine tool to worker picked at random. The job requires special skill acquired through long training. Therefore, the solution to the problem of introducing robots on a large scale lies in ensuring their reliability and making proper use of them as components of complexes designed expressly to discharge definite functions.

Speaking of difficulties, does Inter-robot confront any!

I. Ordinartsev: It certainly does. There are the problems associated with attaining maximum efficiency, selecting the optimum development strategy, standardization and long-term planning. Robots cannot decide on their own what roles they are to play in production process. These decisions are made by man.

Besides the U.S.S.R., Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, Cuba and Czechoslovakia

The job of the joint Soviet-Bulgarian Krasny Proletary-Beroea research and production amalgamation is to design and assemble new generations of industrial robots and manipulators, flexible production modules, and numerical programmed control machine tools. Below:. Bulgarian-made robots undergoing trials at the Krasny Proletary Plant in Moscow.

TASS photo

belong to Interrobot. Why haven't the G.D.R. and Romania joined it?

V. Tsarenko: Ours is a voluntary organization, of course, and open to all countries. I am sure the two states you have named will also soon join it.

Some may think Interrobot a closed organization.

I. Ordinartsev: Nothing could be further from the truth. We are not going to solve our problems within the confines of this organization. Although it is supposed to cater to the needs of the CMEA member states, some of its products—robot complexes, for the most part—will be supplied to the world market.

What, in your opinion, are Interrobot's advantages over bilateral organizations, like the Soviet-Czechoslovak Robot Association?

V. Tsarenko: It should be borne in mind that Interrobot's programme provides for specific projects to be carried out under contracts. This imposes much greater responsibility on the participating states. As for the Robot Association, it is a member of Interrobot, and its plans dovetail with ours.

Will other such associations be formed within the framework of Interrobot?

V. Tsarenko: So far no plans are afoot for the establishment of such associations concerned with robotic complexes. Nevertheless, temporary working bodies will be formed in the context of bilateral cooperation between factories. The Soviet research and production amalgamation Varnish-and-Paint Coating, for instance, is to cooperate with the Materials Protection Institute (Czechoslovakia) in developing automated coating application equipment. The Mukachevo machine tool plant and the Soviet-Czechoslovak Robot Association are to join hands in designing robot machine tool operators. This is a most promising form of cooperation, and I am sure new ones will emerge spontaneously in the future.

Socialist countries have lately been embarking on joint ventures with the capitalist world's leading manufacturers of robots and other automatic systems. The cases in point are the Bulgarian-Japanese Fanuc-Machinex firm for servicing Japanese numerically controlled devices and robots in European CMEA member states, Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey, and the Bulgarian-American firm Sistematics for the servicing and development of the automatic and control systems in the chemical industry. Similar firms will evidently be organized soon in cooperation with enterprises in CMEA states. Don't you think enterprises of socialist countries may eventually find it more profitable to do business with Western companies than to cooperate with each other in Interrobot?

I. Ordinartsev: Any Western firm is interested only in selling what it has to offer, be it equipment, licences or know-how, whereas Interrobot opens up the most rational way towards an integrated and unified system for the development and manufacture of robots.

Does Interrobot have a clear-cut or only a general idea of what it is going to do?

V. Tsarenko: The Interrobot member states have agreed on a detailed programme of action for the period of up to 1990. They are to develop and build a number of new and modified models of industrial robots for machining, casting, welding, assembly and other jobs, and all the accessories to them. Provisions have been made for working out standards and unified robot repair and maintenance systems. Each country's specializations have been agreed on. For instance, the U.S.S.R. is to specialize in metalworking and casting robots and complete control systems; Poland, in welding robots, electric drives and control systems.

As has already been mentioned, self-contained robots are no longer much in demand. Nevertheless, your answers suggest that Interrobot is going to continue making them.

V. Tsarenko: Interrobot is not going to become "set in its ways." It will respond promptly to shifts in market demand. Its initial plans are already being corrected, with a view to broadening their scope. Interrobot may undertake to do complex jobs for the participating states such as developing robotic complexes and flexible production systems. The manufacture of self-contained robots was only a beginning.

I. Ordinartsev: What's more, as we keep abreast of technological progress, we shall be able to give more attention to robots designed for agriculture, public catering, underwater research and other fields of activity. Here in the U.S.S.R. the Robot interbranch research and technological complex—Interrobot's head organization—is going to enlist the cooperation of Leningrad's Robotics and Technical Cybernetics Institute for the purpose. I hope our new products will be of interest to our partners. ■

On that first night Viet Linh was unable to make out his features, although she had dreamt of seeing him for many years and had been looking forward to the meeting especially poignanty during the long weeks of her trek from Hanoi to the war-ravaged South. She knew what her father would look like: handsome, trim and agile. How else would a man who risked his life every day in guerrilla country look? But when they met at last, 15-year-old Linh saw only her father's outline: it was already dusk in the jungle when she reached the guerrilla camp and the light could not be put on because of the blackout. "And what do you look like? Are you like your mother? Have you got her big eyes?" her father kept asking. Fighting back her tears, Linh tried to describe her appearance: her father had last seen her when she was a toddler. He had stayed there, in the South, during all those savage years of war.

Viet Linh's mother had been waiting for her husband for ten years—but then remarried. Her daughter could not forgive her and, choosing the right moment, set out without even saying goodbye on a nearly 2,000-km journey in search of her father and "real life", which she associated with gunfire, night fighting and bomb explosions.

Dawn in the tropics is as sudden as nightfall. Her father was middle-aged, tired and slightly stooped. The girl's eyes, really large, like her mother's, again brimmed with tears, the tears of pity for her father. Viet Linh understood that she could not leave him, that her place was at his side, his and his comrades'.

She was 17 when she laid a bet with the deputy manager of the partisan film studios Liberation that she would be a film director. By that time she had found her bearings in guerrilla country and was doing well as an assistant cook in one of the units. Then she was sent for training at the film studios, also located in the jungle. Her words were not youthful boasting—but the road to her goal was long and arduous. During her seven years of life in the jungle she had become a real fighter. A scar on her face from a bomb fragment (which does not at all mar her beauty, however) also is a reminder of that time.

After the South was liberated in 1975, Viet Linh was sent to Moscow to study to become a scriptwriter, along with two young men who had been recommended for the directing school at the All-Union State Institute of Cinematography. In Moscow, the girl took another independent decision: contrary to the recommendations given to her, she ap-

A Bet in the Jungle

plied to the directing school. By that time her two companions had had to give up their dream of becoming film makers: they had failed the entrance exams. Perhaps that made Viet Linh even more determined: indeed, someone from their country had to clear that hurdle. At the first exam one member of the jury (she later learned that it was the well-known Soviet producer Alexander Alov) cast a sceptical glance at her and said: "You, such a fragile girl, want to become a director? But it is illogical...." "You think it would be logical for me to marry, bear children and do the cooking?" Viet Linh retorted. "But I have come to Moscow and the logic is now different...." Alov burst out laughing and Vladimir Naumov, sitting next to him in the examination commission, also laughed. The two were side by side there, just as they had been many times on location and would be in the class in which Viet Linh was to study.

"During my studies I realized that the task of an artist is to make a path from his or her heart to that of the spectator, reader, listener. And it depends on the artist whether it will be straight, tortuous or circuitous."

Her diploma film attracted attention with its unconventional approach to seemingly accepted ideas.

She told the story of a Vietnamese girl, a veteran of the war of liberation, coming to Moscow to take the exam for the vocal department of the conservatoire. She had sung very well in the past but a wound in the head sustained at the front detracted from her abilities. ("The film is fifty per cent about myself," Viet Linh says.) However, she is a famous war veteran and her services are indisputable. "You can be certain of a place," her new acquaintance, a Soviet World War II veteran, assured her. But life in Viet Linh's film is ruled by other laws: the girl fails her entrance exams.

"The war veterans did a lot for the people," Viet Linh says, "and the people owe them a great deal. But every age and every period of history has its own imperatives. People who distinguished themselves in those years should be rewarded for their contribution. Monuments should be raised to war heroes. They should be decorated and allocated flats, and their lives improved in every way. But I don't think they have the automatic right to become managers in production which they know little about, or go on the stage without any talent to speak of."

Participation in the war is not a ticket to do as you please for the rest of your life, she believes. Perhaps it increases a person's sense of responsibility for his actions, for everything he does in peacetime. Even a man who has won fame and military decorations must assert himself over and over again with his talent, industry and stamina.

The demonstration hall offered refreshing cool after the midday heat outside. The name of the film, "Where Birds Serenely Sing," puts you in a calm frame of mind. On the screen a picture of life in a Vietnamese village unfolds. The main characters are pupils in the graduation class at the rural school. A new teacher comes to their school. She teaches children not only literature but also life, forcefully impressing on them that they should be honest and principled, love their homeland and native village, and that everyone should be where he or she is needed most by their people. Young boys and girls listen attentively to the charming woman. They try to care for the newcomer from the city in every way, bringing her fruit and fresh fish. And they talk and talk about her and keep saying how wonderful she is.

Viet Linh is sitting next to me translating the film. Sometimes she mixes up her Russian words. In one apparent slip of the tongue, she said the Russian "traitoress" instead of the "teacher"—the two words are much alike. But it wasn't just a slip of the tongue: weary of the difficulties of rural life, the teacher flees from the school and her adoring students. Of course, she will be replaced by another, but disappointment and disillusion are sown in the children's hearts. Can they believe adults who say one thing but do the opposite? Outwardly, little has changed in the children's lives—but only outwardly.

The picture aroused considerable interest. More than 50 reviews appeared even before its release. The moral values and the attitudes of different generations of Vietnamese are especially topical. The whole society is experiencing a renewal, and it is very important for everyone to be involved in the process, with no one hiding behind a wall of mistrust and indifference. It is especially important to keep young people free of inertia, and people of the older generation should set an example.

After the screening I asked the opinion of Dinh Quang, first deputy minister of culture of Vietnam. "There are people who wish to do something for others, for the country, but who do not have enough strength and lose heart. The chief character in this film failed to cope with the gap between living standards in town and countryside," he said. "Ideologically, the film is right. And it is often artistically original as well. But her next film, I think, will be even better. After all, this is the first production by a young director."

"We thought Viet Linh would make an ordinary, run-of-the-mill film. But it is a success," said Vo Thanh Le, director of the Film Amalgamation in Ho Chi Minh City. In wartime he was deputy manager of the partisan studios Liberation, and once a 17-year-old girl laid a bet with him in the jungle.

Today she, the first woman director of feature films in the south of Vietnam, is unembarrassed by his praise.

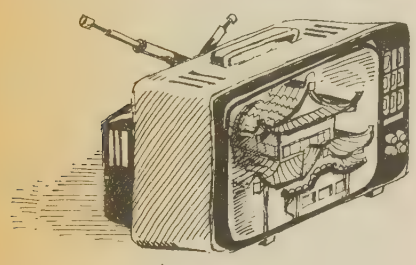
VLADIMIR ZHITOMIRSKY
our special correspondent

Hanoi—Ho Chi Minh City—Moscow

The first TV bridge has linked Moscow, Vladivostok and Tokyo, enabling people thousands of kilometres apart to discuss problems that concern us all.

Reproaches, Ambitions

A couple of years ago I visited the town of Wakkanai in Hokkaido, from where, in good weather, you can see the hills of Soviet Sakhalin. Standing on the shores of the La Pérouse Strait, we talked with local inhabitants about the idea of spanning the strait with a bridge that would promote trade ties, tourism, and friendly contacts between the people of two neighbouring countries. It was only a pipe dream, as the level achieved by modern bridge building makes such a prospect improbable in the foreseeable future. On the other hand, the level of TV communications has made bridge building of a different kind a reality.



TV stations in the Soviet Union and Japan recently showed the first ever TV satellite programme linking people in Moscow, Tokyo and Vladivostok. Those who saw the programme will probably agree that there was a vast difference between the attitudes of the 200 Soviet and the 200 Japanese participants. Muscovites and the people of Vladivostok were generous with smiles and applause for their Japanese counterparts. The faces of the Japanese seemed to be carved in stone.

How did we see each other? The vocabulary of the Japanese side was dominated by pejorative adjectives: a grim, cold country, a bureaucratic system. The only things to win praise were the beautiful girls, the highly developed technology, and the fresh impulse given to foreign policy with the advent of the new leadership. And what did the Soviet participants have to say about Japan? A country with a profound and original culture, and unrivalled art education, where the traditions of the past have been brought into harmony with the present. Negative features mentioned included the high crime rate, and the unresolved social problems.

Why was there such a difference in attitudes? This question took me to the TBS television company and the compère of the Japanese side of the bridge, Mitzunaga Tabata.

Of course there is a difference, he told me. But if there were none such a programme would be uninteresting. It is true that the Japanese have no love for Russia and the Russians. The main reason should be sought in the territorial issue. I know the Soviet arguments, he continued, but most Japanese have never heard them. What the Japanese people do know is that in 1945 the Soviet Union unexpectedly entered the war against Japan, and that hundreds of thousands of their soldiers were taken prisoner in Manchuria. What they don't know at all or know little about is the invasion of the Soviet Far East by the Japanese army during five years after the October revolution, the lawless actions of the Japanese in China in the 1930s, and the developments that led to the events at Khalkin Gol.

Another reason is the limited contact between the two countries, Mitzunaga Tabata went on. I think that more channels should be opened for exchanges of information and people. The TV bridges could also play a considerable part in this. After the TV linkup I received several hundred letters, most of them in favour of the idea of such contacts, but there was criticism too. The Soviet participants were taken to task for acting as official representatives of their country, not as private individuals. Soviet TV was accused of specially selecting people unusually well versed in all the intricacies of the legal aspects of bilateral relations. Personally, I was surprised by the tactless questions about how much a Japanese family spends on food. Nonetheless, the first TV bridge has become a fait accompli. The first and, I sincerely hope, not the last, Tabata concluded.

This is a hope I should like to share, because TV, which serves 67 per cent of all Japanese as the main source of political information, could play an important part in breaking down the prevailing stereotyped views of a neighbouring country, and bringing them closer to the reality. But a lot has to be done before that can be achieved. The lessons of the first TV bridge have to be learned, and the criticism—and not just of the Soviet side—must be taken into consideration. The Japanese producers not only concentrated on flogging dead horses like the "territorial issue," but cut the 5-hour programme down to 72 minutes so that these issues predominated. It was no accident that among those gathered in the Tokyo studio, many had come from the southern part of Sakhalin, Kunashir Island and other Soviet territories that up to 1945 had been controlled by Japan.

One could continue to criticize the producers, compères and participants in the TV programme, and calculate which side scored more propaganda points. But is it worth it? Wouldn't it be better to get down to work on a new programme, and build more of the bridges of good will that are so necessary in our small and fragile world?

YURI TAVROVSKY
Tokyo **our own correspondent**

Tolerance, Good Will

"I knew that we saw each other differently, but I never imagined that the gulf between our views was so great," a participant in the Moscow-Vladivostok-Tokyo TV bridge told me with disappointment as we left the Ostankino TV centre. The same note of surprise was present in virtually every letter from Soviet TV viewers after the programme had gone on the air.

One reason was pinpointed during the transmission itself: the Soviet mass media present events in Japan and the life of the Japanese people more fully and honestly than do Japanese TV, press and radio when treating the Soviet Union. But there is another reason too. I am closely acquainted with all the Soviet journalists who have worked in Japan over the past twenty years. There is not one who does not admire Japan's economic, technological and scientific achievements, appreciate Japanese literature and arts, and is not sympathetically disposed towards the Japanese people.

I also know the Japanese correspondent in Moscow. Many of them are prejudiced against us or, at best, indifferent. Hence the discrepancy not only in the content, but also the tone of the TV and radio reports on the basis

of which Soviet people have formed their idea of Japan, and the Japanese their picture of our country. We have been shown the image of a partner, they have not infrequently seen the image of an enemy, but invariably that of an untrustworthy neighbour.

There were also letters from Japan. As with Soviet TV audiences, Japanese views on the programme differed: some liked it, others did not. But in all the comments there was one common feature: both Japanese and Soviet audiences felt such programmes should be continued.

Indeed, satellite TV offers people the most democratic form of contact. Thanks to it, we were able to visit the Japanese in their homes, and receive them in our own.

As we have now begun visiting each other, we must learn to be tolerant, and listen to and understand each other.

During the TV bridge, the Japanese side raised the so-called "territorial issue." It was brought up because one propaganda stereotype current in Japan claims that the Soviet government, fully aware that its refusal to return the "northern territories" is legally untenable, has concealed the essence of the problem from its people. During the TV satellite linkup, the Japanese people learned that Soviet citizens are fully conversant with Japan's claims to the southern part of the Kuril Islands, and that they fully support their government's stand on the issue; not simply because it is their government's stand, but on historical and legal grounds. The reaction of Japanese audiences was described by Katsuo Kimura in the paper Asahi.

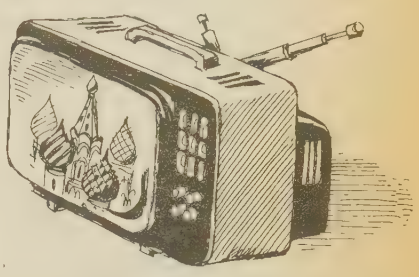
"The Japanese side, including the compère, displayed hostility and allowed anger and resentment to surface. They interrupted the Soviet speakers and when the latter cited evidence that the Japanese were misinterpreting historical facts, they replied, 'we have not come for a history lesson.'"

Let us write off the acrimony as inevitable at the outset of any major enterprise and hope there will be less of it in future TV bridges.

We regard it as normal for women to talk about family matters and the family budget. In Japan the attitude to family matters is quite different.

A Japanese industrialist once told me that in Japan opposition to the government is good form. The working people, of course, have different reasons for opposing government policy. It would be absurd to use the same yardstick for evaluating Soviet people's attitudes to the authorities. But this lack of knowledge about customs and outlook should not arouse the irritation of the other side. The purpose of these TV bridges is to get to know each other better, and as a result to draw closer.

As the Soviet compère of the Moscow-Vladivostok-Tokyo TV bridge, I was most upset by the fact that TV audiences in the Soviet Union and Japan began to keep a tally of points won or lost as if it were a hockey or baseball game, not a forum for human contact. I am firmly convinced that there should be neither winners nor losers in TV linkups. All should stand to gain from the new information they have glimpsed about the life of another nation, accurate knowledge of the motives that prompt its actions and



the breaking down of mutual mistrust. If scores are kept in TV bridges, then even if the result is a draw, both sides are losers.

In a review of the TV serial "Amerika" about an imaginary Soviet occupation of the United States, I came across a very accurate definition of the purpose of such films. It was called "the occupation of audiences' minds," occupation by forces to whom friendship between peoples and good will in human relations are anathema. The importance of TV bridges lies in the fact that they prevent minds being taken over by enmity and evil, and can oust such occupants if they have succeeded in installing themselves.

VLADIMIR TSVETOV

Americans Watch Vremya

When delegates to the 18th Congress of Soviet Trade Unions replied to questions put to them by reporters from the Soviet TV news programme Vremya, they almost certainly had no idea that they were being watched and heard by more than 80 million Americans and Canadians. The American corporation Orbita Technologies and the private TV company Discovery Channel are conducting an experiment: they are broadcasting Soviet TV programmes on American cable television. Orbita's permanent representative in Moscow, Cynthia Rosenberger, had this to say to journalist Alexei Budenny.

A year ago the president of Orbita, Ken Schaffer, invited the well-known American singer Sting to his technical centre to watch Soviet programmes. They made such a strong impression on him that he wrote a song about them which was a big hit in the U.S. and won first place at many national contests. The song's title was "The Russians."

And then the idea of the experiment was born.

We had an agreement with the Soviet State Committee on Radio and Television that for these transmissions it would not arrange special programmes for American viewers. The Americans appreciated that, as they want relations between our two countries to be open and honest. In the morning, Cynthia Rosenberger went on, I spoke to Ken Schaffer over the phone. He was delighted. About 80 million Americans and 800,000 Canadians are watching Soviet TV programmes. Ken visited a family that had planned to spend at most half an hour watching these programmes, but sat riveted to the screen for several hours.

Ken said that on the eve of the first transmission, Orbita had asked TV viewers to phone in and let it know if their views of the Soviet Union had changed for the better after watching the programme. Ninety per cent of those who phoned, said "Yes", and the other 10 per cent, probably those who had failed to understand our intentions or simply not wanted to, said "No." The transmission coincided with the showing of the serial "Amerika." It took a proportion of our potential viewers away. They had the choice. Americans are asking themselves who to believe.

We have no intention of stopping there. The experiment will continue, or so I hope. According to a ratings poll, the most popular programme was the newscast Vremya, with International Panorama second. Thousands of viewers have asked us to transmit Vremya as a regular feature. We shall pass on this request to the Soviet State Committee on Radio and Television and give Americans another chance to take a look at the Soviet Union. We are also planning an exchange of radio programmes between 48 twin towns in the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A., as well as an American tour for Soviet rock musicians. ■

Without the Veil

Egyptian women are in great demand. Every year thousands of Arabs come to Egypt with the sole purpose of marrying one. The situation got so serious that a special law (No. 103) has been passed to protect Egyptian men from foreign competition. Under the law, a foreign fiancé must be personally present at the signing of the marriage contract. Formerly, wealthy old men sometimes preferred to sign contracts by proxy. Under the law, the age difference should not exceed 25 years.

The law allows for four wives. When I read the law in the newspapers I wondered why it had been published at all. Under Shariat, Egyptians have enjoyed this right since ancient times. However, they seldom avail of it. As the saying goes, "I cannot love two women because I have only one heart." Even in Upper Egypt, regarded as a stronghold of conservative traditions, polygamy among ordinary peasants is seen as amoral. If a man takes a second wife, the first wife prefers divorce.

So, polygamy is allowed but is not popular in Egypt. Usually it has economic roots. A poor man with a large family has to give his daughter as second wife to a rich man to save her and his family from starvation.

Early marriages exist in Egyptian villages and oases. For example, an 11-year-old girl may be engaged to a 12-year-old boy. In these conservative preserves, a 20-year-old girl is pitied as an old maid. In the oasis of Siwa, a girl who feels that she will soon have passed marriageable age goes to a local witch and buys a "charmed" veil which is supposed to attract suitors. Marrying for love is rare. Marriages are usually arranged by parents, who believe that familiarity is as good as love.

In cities such customs are dying out. Young men and women study and work together, and choose their partners in marriage themselves. But the institution of matchmaking is still very much alive.

I have attended Egyptian weddings, one in a village near Aswan, and another in a sumptuous Cairo hotel. While the contrast was striking, the customs were basically the same.

At both weddings guests gave presents, there was a great deal of folk music and dancing, no alcohol and little food. A feast was held afterwards for close relatives. But the general atmosphere was gay and guests were numerous. Even a village wedding attracts some 300 people.

However, young people wishing to marry are often faced with the insoluble problem of mahr, or bride price. The sum to be contributed by the fiancé varies from place to place. In the Nubian villages in the south, there is a standard payment of 45 Egyptian pounds. In other places the sum varies from 100 to 500 pounds. Rich families may demand a mahr of 10,000 pounds.

The bride, for her part, is supposed to bring a dowry called gihaz al-arus. The mahr forms the capital of the future family, its cash, while gihaz al-arus provides the furnishing for the home.

Not everyone can afford to marry. It sometimes takes years to save up enough to pay the mahr.

Married Life

An Egyptian woman is very family-conscious. The time-tested method of preserving a family is to have as many children as possible. Infertility is a great misfortune. Even if it is the husband's fault, the woman is always blamed.

There is odd belief that gold jewelry help keep the man in the family. Most women have such adornment. As soon as she has money to spare, the housewife buys a piece of jewelry. On the one hand, she can display it to her husband and her neighbours. On the other hand, she deprives her husband of the money. In this way, he will have no money to go to a tea-house, let alone pay the bride price for a second wife. So he will stay at home.

Leafing through the Egyptian press, I came across headlines such as this: "University professor batters wife. Court acquits him. Beating without injury is legal" (Al-Gomhouriya). "Husband can beat wife, but not in public" (Al-Akhbar). And many more.

Winifred Blackman, an English ethnograper, writes in her book "The Fellahin of Upper Egypt" that she knew of many men who were afraid of their wives. And she is inclined to think that it is the henpecked Egyptian man that is to be pitied, while the downtrodden wife is to some extent a myth.

The custom of writing letters to deceased holy men still exists. Mosques and tombs even have mailboxes for such letters. A letter to the late imam al-Shafii reads:

"My lord, imam al-Shafii, may your name be blessed. Writing this complaint to your noble tomb is a poor miserable slave of Allah, the school-teacher Kamal. The complaint is about Mrs Saad, my wife. The nature of complaint: she has mistreated me, impinged on my rights and those of my children, given money to her mother Nagiya and alienated the children from me by setting them against me. She has tarnished my reputation, forgetting Allah. She has decorated herself for others, but not for me. She has provoked me and made a laughingstock of me before others, whereas I have done everything possible to protect her and the children. Allah has seen everything and he is the best witness."

Whether the late imam helped the poor teacher, I do not know. If he failed, divorce was the likely outcome. According to Shariat, which is observed in Egypt along with the secular law, divorce is an exceedingly simple procedure for the man. All he has to do is to say three times, "In the name of Allah, you are no longer my wife," in the presence of two witnesses. The woman has no such right.

While the procedure is simple, divorces are infrequent. Said Oweis, a major Egyptian sociologist, writes in his "Conversations about Modern Egyptian Woman" (which cites the above letter)

Siwani girls in wedding costume.

From the magazine The Middle East (Britain)

that the divorce rate is falling. The current rate is two divorces per 1,000 people. The main reason is economic.

Model Mother

Siza Nabrawi, a pleasant looking old woman whose portrait I have, is honoured as a national heroine in Egypt. In 1923 she caused a sensation by taking off her veil on a jetty in Alexandria. The following year she founded the Union of Egyptian Women. A year later she was publishing a magazine. Inspired by Siza Nabrawi and her associates, girls began to enroll at colleges and universities. Subsequently, she was involved in the founding of the Union of Arab Women, active far beyond Egypt. She was the first to sign an international protest of women against the atomic weapon.

Today, 12 per cent of Egyptian women work in industry and offices along with men. A lot has yet to be done for women finally to shed age-old prejudices and outdated traditions. Dr Kamilia Abdel-Fattah laments that to this day 70.9 per cent of Egyptian women are illiterate.

The International Women's Day, March 8, is observed in Egypt. There is a new tradition of marking Mother's Day in March, when the Model Mother of the Year is nominated in every province. Fawziya Metwalli Shalabi married a fitter in Suez. Her husband, a trade unionist, once led workers in protest against the British authorities. His active struggle against the colonialists landed him in prison several times. His wife and five children eked out a meagre existence. Fawziya sold all her jewelry to feed and educate her children. During the Israeli aggression her husband and elder son served in the armed forces, and she and her four other children were evacuated to the south. The son was taken prisoner and severely tortured. She had a lot of trouble getting a dwelling in Cairo and worked her fingers to the bone to rear her children. One of her daughters is now an engineer, another a teacher. One son is an officer, and another, an engineer. The youngest son is a military engineer. She is now well off. But she undertook to bring up her grandchildren, and then other children in the neighbourhood whose mothers go to work. She did all this free of charge. The grateful neighbours nominated her for the title of Model Mother.

So, what is a typical Egyptian woman?

DMITRY ZGERSKY

A New Life for the Chams

The long boat trailing its makeshift rudder nosed into the sand in the shallows and we climbed out and walked up the steep bank. This was Cape Chray Chanvar, the wedge separating the Mekong and Tonle Sap rivers that flow through the Kampuchean capital of Pnom Penh. It is the land of the Chams, descendants of the inhabitants of the once mighty state of Champa. We were welcomed by several men wearing long white sarong skirts, white tunics and gold-embroidered caps. The village we were about to visit was some two kilometres away, on the bank of the Mekong River, on the other side of the cape. As we strode along I learned that the village was inhabited by 269 families, 1,321 persons in all.

They emerged from huts on stilts, and gathered on one of the open terraces.

As is the custom in the East, conversation is conducted by the elders. The oldest villager, Sen Slayman, a tall bespectacled professorial-looking man, told us in an even, measured voice: "The Champ community settled across the river from Pnom Penh in the middle of the 19th century. Under the Pol Pot regime it was real hell. It was a terrible time, terrible," repeated he bitterly, over and over. "The most appalling thing for us Muslims was the desecration of our age-old rites and customs. Though we have rebuilt the mosque, the clergy who knew Arabic and had made the pilgrimage to Mecca were nearly all executed. Our holy books were also destroyed.

"We realize that the new authorities are giving us constant support," Sen Slayman continued. "This was not the case either under the king, Sihanouk or Lon Nol, and we Chams are responding in the spirit. One Khmer word we have accepted into our language is 'Samakhi'—solidarity. We do indeed stand solid behind all Kampucheans now restoring their country after the bandit pogroms."

The "Book of Crimes Against Islam," which has just come out in Pnom Penh, describes the atrocities perpetrated by the bloodthirsty clique and its harassment and persecution of the Chams. In the space of just one day in the village of Ba Key, Kompong Cham Province, the Pol Potists executed 123 Muslim families. Only four of the province's former twelve villages have survived. These proud people had established their communities over the centuries and cherished their customs, language and faith. But everything was done to deprive them of their heritage.

In the village of Koh Phal, the Chams protested when their traditional New Year celebration was cancelled. They were permitted to celebrate after all, but when the villagers gathered for the purpose, they were massacred.

The village we visited had 600 families before the Pol Pot regime. By January 7, 1979, the day the People's Revolutionary Army liberated it, only 20 families remained.

Opposite the mosque is a kind of museum, showing the crimes of the Pol Potists. Exhibits of genocidal atrocities include such instruments of torture and murder as file-saws, hoes and axes. On the wall are photographs of the victims, many of whom were women, old people and children.

Li Osman, 55, who has come back from a so-called "people's commune," said: "We have organized this museum so that nobody can forget the horrors we underwent. It is not really for ourselves, as we shall never forget, but for coming generations. Today we have Khmer neighbours, and work together. Marriages between Chams and Khmers are allowed today, but only recently this was totally out of the question. I would like especially to note that the new authority does not obstruct our links with the Islamic world at large. Coreligionists from Vietnam and Arab countries come to see us."

From time immemorial the Chams have settled on river banks and engaged in fishing. Today the state provides them with fishing vessels and tackle and supplies them with rice whenever necessary. At several schools instruction is given in the language of the Chams. The first group of Cham students has appeared at, for example, the medical institute.

I couldn't help recalling one Pol Pot edict: "The land of Kampuchea belongs only to the Khmers and Khmer is the only national language. There is no place for Chams in the land of Kampuchea. They must be exterminated."

One in five Kampuchean Muslims was killed. By 1980 there were only 120,000 Chams in the country. Today there are nearly 190,000.

EVGENY FADEYEV

Pnom Penh—Moscow

THE FUTURE LIES WITH THERAPY

Professor ANDREI MALENKOV, D. Sc. (Biology), Medicinal Preparations Institute, Ministry of Medical and Microbiological Industry of the U.S.S.R.:

It is on record that malignant tumours sometimes albeit rarely disappear spontaneously. This shows that under favourable circumstances the organism can suppress a tumorous growth. I believe therefore that it is safe to claim that the future of oncology lies with nontoxic medicines of natural origin that mobilize the protective forces of the organism itself. Whenever necessary, these medicines can be supplemented with other—also nontoxic—strictly localized methods of treatment, such as hyperthermia (overheating), which depends for its effect on a tumour being less resistant than normal tissue to heat. Ferromagnetics—microscopic particles of magnetized iron—are introduced into a tumour to speed up its resorption. Such methods include the surgical removal of the tumour (using laser technology, for instance).

Viewed from this angle, Professor Nordenström's approach looks promising. The effect of an electric current on a tumour can be localized accurately enough by the proper positioning of electrodes. Current density and exposure duration can be selected in each particular case to achieve the tumour resorption and stimulate the stability of the conjunctive tissue around the tumour. Both effects are essential for success. It should be borne in mind that bringing about the desired changes in the tumour and the surrounding tissue is no easy matter. I do not know how often Professor Nordenström succeeds in suppressing tumorous growths. My own experiments have produced ample evidence of the fact that an electric current does slow down the growth of tumours and considerably reduces their resistance to radiation. The latter conclusion has been corroborated by clinical results obtained at the school of Academician Saim Balmukanov. Neither in the laboratory nor in the clinic have we succeeded, however, in eliminating tumours by means of electric currents alone. This could have been due to our failure to use the method to best advantage.

I should add that for many patients Nordenström's method—even if it proves 100 per cent effective with regard to the tumour—will in any case have to be supplemented with anti-metastasis measures. I am convinced that nontoxic agents that augment the organism's protective powers hold the greatest promise. The substances that can go into making such agents are already known. As has been mentioned, all of them are of natural origin. Their efficacy is evidenced by experimental findings and individual (but well documented) cases of their being used in autotherapy.

We must subject the effect of these medicinal substances to all-round experimental study, in conformity with the requirements of the pharmacological committee, and obtain permission to run clinical tests. Combined with effective nontoxic anti-metastatic agents, local treatment capable of destroying or removing a primary tumour without much damage to the organism is certain to contribute to major progress in oncology. Nordenström's method is likely to find a worthy place in nontoxic tumour therapy that has no side effects on the organism.

In conclusion, I'd like to point to another circumstance of crucial importance. Eva-Britt Nilsson, cured by the Nordenström method, had settled down to fighting her illness psychologically; she believed in success and her immunobiological protective systems were fully mobilized as a result. According to Vadim Pinchuk, corresponding member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, the psychic depression of cancer patients who find themselves in hospital often causes intensified tumour growth and metastases. A patient's emotional state largely decides the outcome of treatment, and cancer cases are no exception here. The atmosphere in the oncological clinic is also of great psychological importance. Pessimism and resignation to the idea of cancer being incurable not only make this atmosphere oppressive, but discourage doctors from doing their best. All this makes, in turn, for the professional deterioration of the medical personnel and for all sorts of breaches of medical and human ethics.

NOT THE ULTIMATE CURE

VICTOR SHENTAL, D. Sc. (Med.), State Prize Winner, All-Union Oncological Research Centre, U.S.S.R. Academy of Medical Sciences:

Impressive progress has been made to date in curing malignant tumours. The medicines now being increasingly used alongside traditional methods of treatment—surgery and radiation—often effect a 100 per cent cure. Heavy charged particles, ultrasound, laser beam, high and low temperatures and magnetic fields have also proved effective means of destroying such tumours. However, treatment involving these physical agents is strictly local.

While giving these means of combating cancer their due, I am inclined to think, however, that the real answer lies in subjecting cancer cases to overall treatment using, say, chemotherapeutic methods which have an effect on the immune system.

Is Professor Nordenström's method really "the breakthrough of the century"? Hardly so. From time to time a new anti-cancer technique appears to replenish the arsenal of those already in clinical use. While certainly contributing to the progress made in fighting this scourge, none of them amounts to a discovery. Applying direct current to a malignant tumour probably comes into the same category. Reportedly, the author of the method does not consider it the ultimate cure either, and says that it is good only for certain tumours or in combination with other kinds of treatment. Further clinical experiments will probably help ascertain the precise effect of direct current on malignant tumours.

Our address: Pushkin Square, Moscow, GSP, 103782, U.S.S.R. Telephones: 229-88-72, 209-07-67

Publisher: Trud, Moscow ● Published in Russian, English, French, German, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Polish and Czech ● Telex: 411164a NEWT SU, 411164b NEWT SU, 411164c NEWT SU ● Cables: New Times Pushkin Square Moscow ● Printed in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS IN THE USSR

1987

"Municipal Facilities and Domestic Appliances"
Minsk
April 1-9

4th exhibition "Automobile Service and Maintenance Equipment"
Moscow
April 1-9

2nd exhibition "Ultrasonic Technology"
Vilnius
April 7-15

3rd exhibition "Equipment for the Bearing Industry"
Moscow
April 8-16

3rd exhibition "Equipment for Mechanization and Automation of Major and Auxiliary Operations in Nonferrous Metallurgy and Geological Prospecting"
Alma Ata
May 13-21

"Utilization of Natural Energy and Secondary Energy Resources in Agriculture"
Erevan
May 13-21

"Automation in Garment and Knitwear Manufacture"
Kiev
May 21-29

"Medical Instruments and Equipment"
Krasnodar
May 21-29

2nd exhibition "Techniques Used in the Manufacture of Building Materials and Structural Elements"
Moscow
May 27—June 5

4th exhibition "Industrial Robots"
Leningrad
July 1-9

4th exhibition "Superhard Materials and Tools"
Kiev
July 8-17

4th exhibition "Electrotechnical Equipment and Power Transmission Lines"
Moscow
July 15-24

6th exhibition "Chemistry"
Moscow
September 10-19

3rd exhibition "Mechanization in Livestock Breeding and Fodder Production"
Riga
September 16-24

4th exhibition "Traffic Security Facilities"
Moscow
October 14-22

3rd exhibition "Equipment for Oil and Gas Industry"
Moscow
October 20-28

"Research in Technological Mineralogy"
Leningrad
October 21-28

3rd exhibition "Equipment and Processes in Microbiological Production"
Moscow
November 25—December 3

All inquiries concerning participation in the exhibitions please address to:
V/O Expocentr
1a, Sokolnicheski val
Moscow 107113 USSR
Telex: 411185 EXPO SU

THE USSR CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY
ALL UNION ASSOCIATION
EXPOCENTR
INTERNATIONAL AND FOREIGN EXHIBITIONS IN THE USSR

Anxiety about peace.

Dieter Urban

(G.D.R.)

New home, new friend.

INTERNATIONAL CONTEST

MAN AND MANKIND

ИНДЕКС 70622 НА АНГЛИЙСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ